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BEGRUENDET UND HERAUSGEGEBEN

VON

W. BANG

o. ö. Professor der Englischen Philologie an der Universität Louvain

---

BAND XXIX : William Hunnis and the Revels of the Chapel Royal. A study of his period and the influences which affected Shakespeare. By Mrs. C. C. Stopes.

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WILLIAM HUNNIS AND THE REVELS

OF THE CHAPEL ROYAL

A study of his period and the influences

which affected Shakespeare.

BY

Mrs. C. C. Stopes

Author of « Shakespeare's Family »
« Shakespeare's Warwickshire Contemporaries »
« The Bacon-Shakespeare Question answered » &c.
Editor of « Shakespeare's Sonnets ».

LOUVAIN
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TO Dr F. J. FURNIVALL

PRESIDENT OF THE NEW SHAKESPEARE SOCIETY,
COMRADE AND INSPIRER OF ALL FAITHFUL
WORKERS TOWARDS THE UNDERSTANDING OF SHAKESPEARE

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PREFACE.

Desiring to trace the influences that moved young Shakespeare's spirit, as well as to understand the circumstances that determined his early career, I began many years ago to work back in times before the ordinary « Shakespeare period ».

Dramatic critics are pretty nearly agreed, that the lad of eleven must have been present at, and deeply moved by the Kenilworth festivities of 1575. They believe they find the structure and allusions of the « Midsummer Night's Dream » explained thereby. I therefore concluded that it would help my investigations a little, if I learned something of those who designed, and assisted at, these festivities.

I found that the chief author was Master William Hunnis, a man hitherto entirely neglected in the History of the Drama. His Biographers had but short notices of him, all uniting to state that « of his life very little is known ». Believing that the position he must have attained before he would have been allowed to share in the triumphs of Kenilworth, and the nfluence his work had inspired, would lend interest to any details I might glean concerning him, I added his name to the list of Sixteenth Century personages that I kept by me, during general research work. In a very short time I found a great deal about his life, so much indeed as to make me desirous and hopeful of finding more. But, during later years, I have not been able to progress in the same satisfactory way. In spite of careful and patient study I have failed to find for William Hunnis a father or a family, though he had a grant of arms, that in one aspect, illustrates the Shakespeare grant. I have failed to *find* copies of any of his certified plays, though I am able to prove that he was a dramatist. On the other hand, I unexpectedly found that the thread of his life led him into most interesting associations in the Court and the Tower, in the Chapel and the City ; in Music and Divinity, in Literature and

Society. His life bridged over the whole period between the Mysteries and the Moralities and the perfected Shakespearean plays.

The story of the Revels and of the Chapel Royal elucidate his relation to both ; the Biographies of his friends reflect so much light upon his own, that it is impossible to disentangle them. If a man is to be measured by his friends, then William Hunnis was worth knowing. Thus his life, that might not in itself have been interesting to casual readers, when fitted into its circumstances and surroundings, must be of importance to those who wish to understand the period. It has been therefore used as a thread on which to string varied facts, each of which has a separate value of its own.

In spite of many lacunae which occur, with a discouraging frequency, just at the most interesting points, something like a consecutive narrative has been presented. If I have introduced a disproportionate amount of material into the Chapters concerning the Conspiracy of Mary's reign, it is because the account of that episode has not yet been fully written in our National History. My good fortune in finding so many new details, and in checking so many little errors of previous writers, depended upon the length of time that I spent in research. As I had this little field of Literature all to myself, I thought there was no good working in it, unless it was thoroughly done. I have had little help from printed authorities, except in gleanings, which gain their importance through being read in the light of Manuscripts. The Revd. Joseph Hunter seems to have been the only one who had done any real work on the subject, and the bulk of his « *Chorus Vatum Anglicanorum* » still remains in Manuscript at the British Museum.

The order of the Chapters may need some explanation. Where associated with any special interest, they follow in the order of time from the date of the commencement, but the subject is completed before it is left. This plan is however departed from in relation to the Chapters on the Revels, because there were so many overlapping associations, that I thought it wiser to place them together towards the conclusion. But having commenced them, I follow them out in order of date.

I was invited by Dr Furnivall to read a paper on William

Hunnis to the New Shakespeare Society in 1891. I had written two articles in The Athenæum about him before the « Life » appeared in the Dictionary of National Biography.

I worked up the materials which I had collected into this book, but just then the New Shakespeare Society was dissolved, and the one publisher to whom I offered it feared to risk a book, fitted only for scholars. I therefore laid it aside, and went on with my special Shakespeare work, until Dr Furnivall recommended the Editors of the publications towards the History of the English Drama at Louvain, to include it among their series, and that is why it has not appeared in the country of its birth. In its publication there have been some unavoidable delays, and it is curious how further details of the « life of which little is known » are constantly cropping up, even since it has been in type.

Nothing very important, I am sorry to say, but several such entries, for instance, as that in the Recusant Rolls for Suffolk 33 Elizabeth, shewing that « William Hunnis one of the gentlemen of the Queen's Majestys Chapel » owed £10 for rent for the lease of Lawshall in Suffolk, part of the possession of Elizabeth Drury, recusant, which he had been granted for a term of 21 years from 1591.

Another concerning Thomas, which I should have been glad to have included in the Chapter on the family, was lately handed me by Mr Young. It shews that Thomas Hunnis, farmer of the Queen's Lands in Barking, Essex, had heen granted a lease of some lands there for a term of 21 years from 27 Aug. 1596, but that Thomas Plowman, Thomas Fuller, & John Westray had entered into them *vi et armis*, and turned him out, so that he could not pay his rent. 27th Nov. 41 Eliz. 1599. This is probably the Thomas mentioned in the text. Perhaps it is wise to add that my work was finished before Professor Feuillerat had completed his valuable and annotated Transcript of the Documents concerning the Revels, and before Professor Wallace had begun his work on the Revels at the Blackfriars. Of the incompleteness of the results of my long labours, I am painfully aware. For the printer's errors which I have left uncorrected in the text through being unused to foreign printers; for my own errors, for which I have no such excuse, I can only

claim the indulgence occasionally allowed to faithful workers.

I must cordially thank Professor W. Bang of Louvain University for his kind help and co-operation as general Editor.

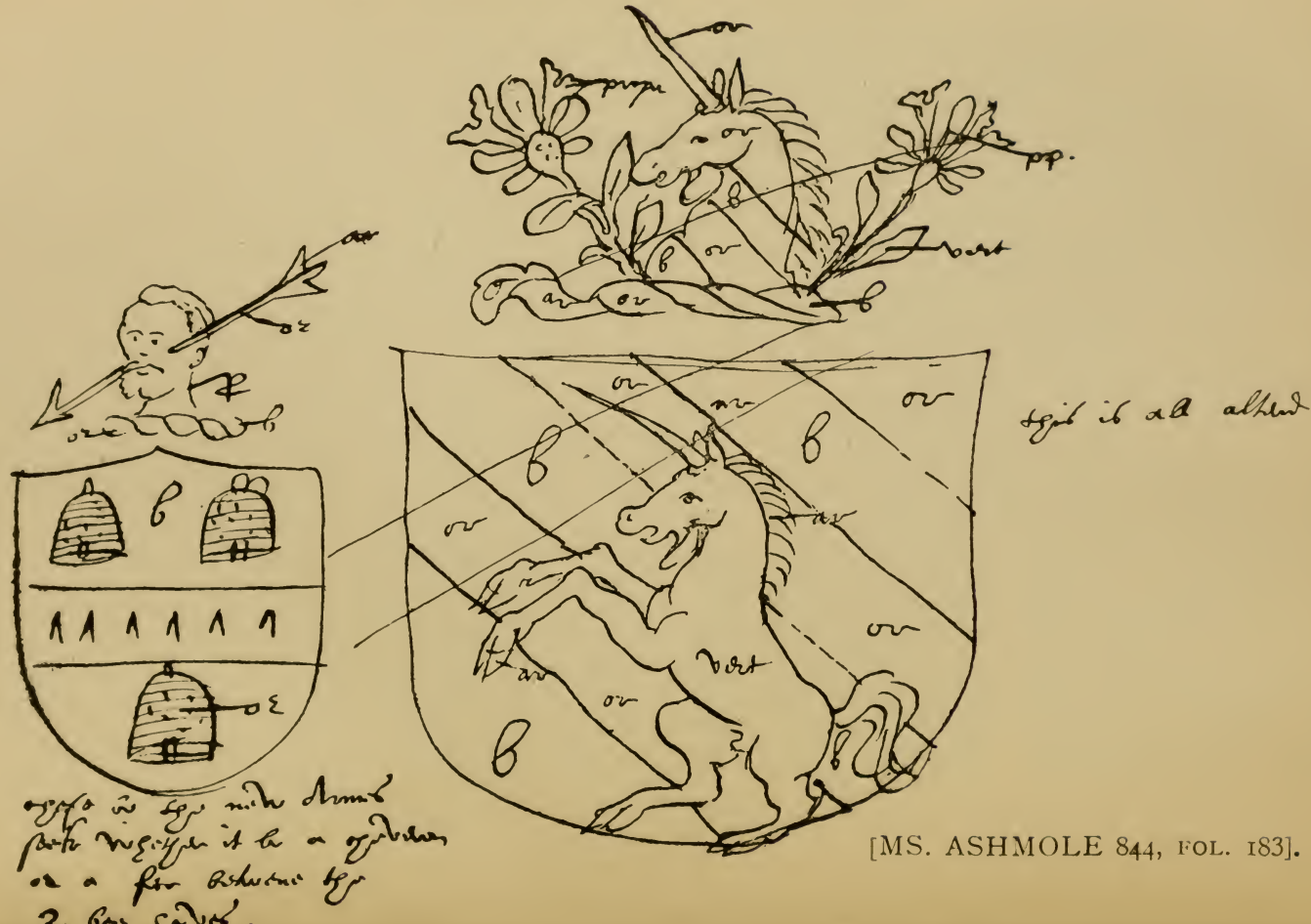
I am much indebted to the Brethren of the Grocers' Company for their kind permission to inspect their interesting books, and especially to their former Master, Mr. J. A. Kingdon (now departed) for his friendly help in my search; and also to the Brethren of the Haberdashers' Company, who were good enough to allow me to follow out in their books, the clues I had gleaned from those of the Grocers'.

I have also to thank warmly the Officials of the Public Record Office, the British Museum, the Guildhall Library and Record Room, of The Town-Hall of Westminster, and of Lambeth Palace Library, for valuable help in my work, and constant patience in my frequent applications, and many Clergymen, for kindly giving me prompt access to their Registers and their Churchwardens' Accounts.

CHARLOTTE CARMICHAEL STOPES.

7 Denning Road,
Hampstead,
May 25th 1910.

Newe Armes and Creast for Hunnys propre



[MS. ASHMOLE 844, FOL. 183].

(See page 154).

FRONTISPIECE.

CHAPTER I.

THE EARL OF PEMBROKE AND HIS SERVANT, WILLIAM HUNNIS.

AMONG THE METRICAL PSALM-WRITERS.

« In pryme of youth thy pleasant penne depaincted sonets sweete
Delightful to the greedy eare, for youthful humour meete ;
Therein appeared thy pregnant witte and store of filed phraze
Enough t'astoune the doltish drone and lumpish loute amaze. »

Thomas Newton's Lines prefixed to the
Hyve Full of Hunnye 1578.

William Hunnis received his social and intellectual training in the latter half of Henry the Eighth's eventful reign. The exact year of his birth has not yet been found. Some phrases in the depositions at his trial, and some lines in his poems regarding his imprisonment in the Tower, suggest that he was still young in 1557, but Thomas Newton addresses him twenty years later, in the poem quoted above, as « in winter of his age ». We may therefore consider 1530 as a proximate and provisional date.

No details have as yet been found of his early youth, but we are able to supply a few suggestions concerning this period by inference from known facts and later literary allusions. We are certain of the one fact that, early in the reign of Edward VI, he was in the service of the great and powerful Sir William Herbert, afterwards Earl of Pembroke, of the new creation. Much may be inferred from the course of his patron's career, which shaped his environment.

No Englishman's known life since the Norman Conquest had been so persistently prosperous as that of William Herbert. For his sake the fickle Goddess Fortune became stable. To him paternal illegitimacy brought no disability ; his own « sacrilege » no sorrow ; treason no trial ; change of faith, no charge of heresy ; « killing was no murder » ; accumulated

wealth and overtopping power no crime. By the close of Henry the Eighth's reign he was ranked among the greatest in England ; in the time of Edward VI, he leapt over the bar sinister into the place and title of his grandfather, while legitimate descendants (1) were yet alive. In Mary's reign he was the one chief personage in the country (2).

His phenomenal success during all the stages of his career must have affected the fortunes of his « servant », William Hunnis, who might have acted to his patron as secretary, musician, player, alchemist, schoolmaster, gentleman-at-arms ; or he might have been but one of those who bore a great Lord's livery to further their own advancement. The comparison of many later allusions makes me think his service was of a closer and more intimate kind than any of these, and that he had probably grown up serving Herbert as a page, in which capacity his son Robin later served the Earl of Essex. In his service William Hunnis would be trained in all the martial and courtly exercises of the times, that still were essential to success, though the period of chivalry was fast passing away (3).

Probably as page he would follow in his Lord's train on many a great occasion, as Esquire learn to rivet his Lord's armour, and tilt on his Lord's steeds, and to become acquainted with the science of the day. In such a post his handsome appearance and his fine voice would recommend him. To exercise the gentle art of poetry and to sing the songs he made was deemed a part of the highest culture of noble youths. Newton tells us Hunnis was an adept in the new art of sonnet-making, brought from Italy to England and adapted to the English genius by the Earl of Surrey and Sir Thomas Wyat, though the word « sonnet » was at the time loosely applied to varied forms of lyric poems. Apparently involved in a whirl of gaiety, amusement and pageantry, in the midst of

(1) These had exchanged for the Earldom of Huntingdon.

(2) See *Venetian State Papers*. Ambassador's letter. March 17,1555. « The Earl of Pembroke is considered the chief personage in England, having more followers than anybody ».

(3) « A Duke's son served a Prince, an Earl's son a Duke, a Knight's son an Earl, an Esquire's son a Knight, & a gentleman's son an Esquire ». From *A Health to the gentlemanly profession of Serving Man* by J. M. 1598. To be so employed gives us therefore some witness to the probable rank of Hunnis.

time-serving politics, with no high moral and religious standard, he learned later to gauge his life of that period severely.

« Alack, when I look back upon my youth that's past,
And deeply ponder youth's offence, and youth's reward at last » &c. (1)

Under the influence of the devotional tastes of the young King, the preaching of Rogers, and the siding of his patron with the Ultra-Puritan party, William Hunnis seems to have mended his ways, and to have turned his attention to religious subjects. The first of his works which has come down to us is a translation of a few Psalms in metre, which must have been written in 1549, as it was printed in 1550, while he was yet with his « master » Sir William Herbert.

Never was there a more direct and sustained effort to elevate the nations through their songs, than by the 16th Century Reformers : « Let me make the songs of a people, and whosoever will, may make its laws ». The English School received two foreign impulses, the German (combined with the Scotch), and the French. The German and Swiss Churches first made use in their services of metrical Psalms and hymns such as those by Luther, Eber, Sachs, Weise, Beza, frequently set to popular music ; and the knowledge of this form of versified Scripture, came over to us with the Reformer's Doctrines.

Another wave of inspiration came to us through the French Court-poet Clement Marot, who, inspired by the beauty of many of the Psalms, translated them into French Verse, set to popular melodies, which became at once the fashion at the Court, and remained so until 1553, when the Catholics took alarm and prohibited them.

In this country there were two early groups of Psalm-renderers. Sir Thomas Wyat, the Elder, (who died in 1541-2,) and his friend the Earl of Surrey (executed 1546-7.) both translated some of the Psalms of David. They were of the School of Marot, in that they were poets first and Psalm-writers afterwards, but they missed the directness and simplicity of the French poet.

The second group versified the Psalms rather as Reformers, than as poets. The exact date of the *Goostly Psalms and Spiritual songs* of Miles Coverdale cannot be given, but they must

(1) *Paradice of Dainty Devises*. No 71. Ed. 1596.

have been later than those of the two Wedderburnes in Scotland, both moved by German influence. Curiously enough the first *dated* metrical Psalm printed that we have, is the 14th., rendered by Queen Elizabeth when she was a child in 1544, and printed in 1548, appended to her translation of *A Godly Meditacyon of the Christian Soul, by the Lady Margaret Queen of Navarre.*

Doubtless affected to a certain degree by all his predecessors, Thomas Sternhold became the leader of what may be called *the English School.* Henry VIII, who had himself written a metrical hymn, set to music for four voices as a full anthem (1), was moved by admiration of this work of a layman. He made Sternhold the Groom of his Chamber, and Keeper of his Royal Robes, possibly with some remembrance of the place of the French Marot. The favour shown Sternhold by Henry was continued by his son.

A small volume containing 19 Psalms, seems to have been published during Sternhold's lifetime, probably in 1548 or early in 1549. He died in August of the latter year, and in December a second edition appeared, containing 37 Psalms by Sternhold and 7 by John Hopkins. By the latter and by his companions the whole book of Psalms was completely versified and printed in 1562.

Among Psalm-writers may be classed those who versified in the same spirit other passages of Scripture. On 1st June 1549, there had appeared *The Canticles or Ballads of Solomon, phraselyke declared in English metre by William Baldwin, servant with Edward Whitchurch* 4to, with a dedication to the King, in which is a reference to Sternhold's Psalms. Even more important than this issue, because it precedes the only extant issue of Sternhold and Hopkin's selections by three months, was the volume *The Psalter of David, newly translated into English metre in such sort that it maye the more decently and with delyte of the mind be read and song of all men. Whereunto is added a note of four partes with other things, as shall appeare in the Epistle to the Reader. Translated and imprinted by Robert Crowley in the yeare of our Lord 1549, the 20th day of September, and are to be sold in*

(1) See William Mason's *Cathedral Music of York Cathedral*, 1834, p. xiv. Sir John Hawkins *History of Music*, Vol. I, p. 362.

Ely rentes, in Holbourne. The interesting facts concerning this issue are, that it was the first complete metrical rendering, the first not only set to musical notes, but to notes in 4 parts, and that it was translated by the printer himself, who was also the first editor of *Pierce Plowman's Visions.* The Lady Elizabeth Fane's *Selections from the Psalms, with a hundred and two proverbs*, were published by this same printer in 1550.

Early amid this second group of Psalm-versions appeared the slender octavo volume by which William Hunnis becomes introduced to the Literary World : *Certayne Psalmes chosen out of the Psalter of David and drawen furth into English meter 1550.*

Another book has been attributed to him by many Bibliographers, and has been supposed by them to precede this 1550 volume : *An abridgement or brief meditation on certaine of the Psalms in English meeter*, printed by Wyer, undated, but reckoned as of 1549. I have been unable to trace any copy. But Maunsell in the 1595 edition of his Bibliography mentions the volume, adding to the description his contemporary knowledge. He states that the Author « was gentleman of the Chapel Royal, and master of the Children of the same ». Hunnis did not really become the first until 1550, nor the second until 1566, on the death of Richard Edwards. Curiously enough, though mentioning this vanished volume, Maunsell does not mention the 1550 edition which still exists. But his exclusions are less important than his inclusions, seeing that he mentioned only books that *he had seen.* It must not be forgotten that the 1550 volume claims to be « the first fruits of his labours », and that it *may* be a second edition. Wyer ceased to print in 1555-6 ; no book on the Psalms appeared during Mary's reign. This would seem to limit the possible dates of the *Abridgement* to 1550-3, if indeed it is not merely the first edition of his *Certayne Psalms.* Some Bibliographers note another edition of these, given as *The Psalms of David, translated into English metre by T. Sternhold, Sir Thomas Wyat, and William Hunnis, with certaine chapters of the Proverbs and select Psalms by John Hall, 1550,* London. 4to. If such an edition did exist, there is no trace of a copy. But in the University Library of Cambridge, I have seen a volume in which the little books by these four men were *bound together* in the order given above. Whether this may

be read as a sign that such an edition had appeared; or as a suggestive association that some printer made real; or whether some early owner thought the four books a congruous combination, and bound them together, I cannot say. It is quite possible some early Bibliographer treated this special volume as one work. But the compounded volumes are of different dates, places and printers, slightly varying in size also. I believe that the University authorities have once more split up this little volume into its former component parts, i. e. Sternhold's 1549 edition; Sir Thomas Wyat's *Penitential Psalms*, 1549 edition; William Hunnis's *Certayne Psalms* of 1550, and Iohn Hall's *Proverbs and Psalms,* 1550.

Third in the little volume, made thus *one* only by the binder, appears the unique copy of the first extant edition by William Hunnis.

Certayne Psalmes chosen out of the Psalter of David, and drawen furth into English meter, by William Hunnis, seruant to the ryght honorable Syr Wyllyam Harberde Knight, newly collected and imprinted 1550.

The book is almost singular in that there is *no Dedication*; and the Preface runs:

« Wyllyam Hunnis to the Reader. I have here picked oute (moost gentyll reader) these psalmes folowing which no late wryter hath hytherto touched, and yet for the excellency of the matter in them conteined, semed most worthy this labour and payne. And this enterpryce I have taken in hande, not intendynge therbye anye praises or glorye shulde redounde unto me but cheifly for thys purpose that those whiche in Psalmes and pleasaunt songes hath delyte, myghte hereof receive some pleasure or profyt. Rede them therfore, moost gentyl reader with iudgment, iudge with discrestion. And althoughe that in som places they be not so eloquentlye turned as paradventure the matter of them requireth, yet for the exceding profit that doth procede of them, reiecte them not, but accept my good wyll, which wholye endeuored my selfe, and go about to satisfye and to accomplyshe thy Desyre to profyt euerye man and disprofit in no wise which thing yf I do obtaine, I have that I loke for, yf not, yet I ought to be pardoned, forasmuche as my good wil to please and profyte fayled not, but power only

lacked. Hereafter God wyllynge other thynges shalbe taken in hande of me, both more wyllynglye and also finished more exactlye, yf I do perceive these the fyrste fruites of my labours and paynes to be accepted and taken in good worth. Farewell. *Imprinted at London in Aldersgate Streete by the wydowe of Jhon Herforde, for Jhon Harrington the yeare of our Lord MDL. cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum* ».

The Psalms are the 51st, 56th, 57th, 113th, 117th, 147th, — taken in the numbering of Matthews' Bible, « The Songe of Zacharias », « The Songe of the three children », « A thanksgivinge to God for delivering from adversitie », « Ecclesiastus the laste », « The Complaint of a Sinner ».

The latter begins thus

« Alas, wretched sinner that I am
Comfortles and of men forsaken
A synner into the world I cam
From whence I knowe I shalbe taken
Yet of my synfull lyfe amendynge
To the I crye O Lorde, Swete Iesus
Miserere mei Deus ».

They seem to have been popular in their day.

Psalms 23rd and 132nd in metre by John Bale were printed for John Day (1) in 1552; and *Certayne Psalms select out of the Psalter of David, and drawen into English Metre with notes to every Psalme in 4 parts by Francis Seager* (2) appeared in 1553, 8vo, This is an important publication in relation to the history of the music of the Psalms, as it seems to have been set to part-music, second only to Crowley's.

The next production of the same spirit was not from the Book of Psalms, but from the New Testament, i. e. the first fourteen chapters of the Acts of the Apostles, which were, in 1553, printed by William Seres with the musical parts :

The Actes of the Apostles, translated into Englishe metre, and dedicated to the Kynges most excellent Maiestye, by Christofer Tye, Doctor in Musyke, and one of the gentlemen (3) *of hys graces*

(1) See Cotton's Bibliography, p. 398.
(2) Cp. Herbert's edition of Ames. III. p. 1572.
(3) Christopher Tye is not mentioned in any known list of the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal near that date.

moste honourable Chappell, wyth notes (1) *to eche chapter, to synge and also to play upon the Lute, very necesserye for studentes after theyr study to fyle theyr wyttes, and alsoe for all Christians that cannot synge to read the good and godlye storyes of the lives of Christ hys Apostles* ».

The dedication to the « vertuous and godlye learned prynce Edward the VI » is in stanzas of alternate metre like the popular Psalms —

« Your grace may note fro tyme to tyme
That some doth undertake
Upon the Psalmes to write in ryme
The verse pleasant to make.

And some doth take in hand to wryte
Out of the Booke of Kynges, (2)
Because they se your grace delyte
In suche like godlye thynges.

And laste of all, I youre poore man
Whose doings are full base,
Yet glad to do the best I can,
To geue unto your grace,

Have thought it good nowe to recyte
The storyes of the Actes
Even of the twelve as Luke doth wryte
Of all their worthy factes ». &c.

Christopher Tye's and Francis Seager's works appeared too late to have become popular before the death of the young King made their style of verse and music go out of fashion, at least until the time of Elizabeth, when it went through the developments natural to a popular style, and preachers and poets, learned men and women, united their efforts, to produce verses worthy of being used in the public services.

It does not seem much to modern critics to bring out a metrical translation of a few psalms. But in those days it meant much. Reading and writing were not such common qualifications as they are to-day, and every man who could read, did not at once aspire to write a book.

(1) In 4 parts, « Meane, Tenor, Countertenor, Bassus ».
(2) This work has not come down to us.

By the time of Fuller the critics had become severe on the poor verse. Campbell (1) thinks that the metrical psalm-writers, « with the best intentions, and the worst taste, degraded the spirit of Hebrew Psalmody by flat and homely phraseology, and, mistaking vulgarity for simplicity, turned into bathos what they found sublime ».

Sir Egerton Brydges (2) however reminds us, « that had the verses not been poor, they would not have pleased the vulgar, for whom they were intended, or suited the popular music of the day, to which they were originally set. » It may be interesting to note that the metrical renderings of Bacon are rather worse, and those of Milton not much better than these old rhymes.

It was not easy for the people then to purchase Bibles for themselves, even if they could read. The metrical versifications were therefore, not only a sign of the culture of their writers, and that they had abjured Romanism and its obscuring ceremonial, but that they tried to satisfy a felt want, and sought the purification of the lives of the people by presenting them with sacred thoughts in English verse, to fix in their memory, and to sing to English melodies. There is no music (3) by any great English composer of the time that would suit the Ballad-measures of the Psalms; therefore the metrical version was a further protest against the « curious music » of the « old antiphonal », and the Catholic service.

The Prefaces to these old verses, give the general idea of their genesis, and become a part of the religious as well as the literary history of the time. They all give the same reason for their publication, i. e. to provide spiritual songs for the people, « instead of the foul and corrupt ballads of the day ». Dr. John Hall specialises one collection called *The Court of Venus*, of which no copy has come down to us. Some moderate reformer seems to have made a new and improved selection of poems bearing the same name, of which two fragments have been preserved, the one called the Bright fragment, in the Christy Miller Library at Britwell, and the other the Douce fragment

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(1) Campbell's *Specimens of English Poetry*, I. 116-7.
(2) *Censura Litteraria*, vol. I. p. 79.
(3) See Chappell's *History of Music*, vol. I. p. vi.

now in the Bodleian. I was able to prove, some years ago (1), that much of this work was by Sir Thomas Wyat. It is possible that the « improver » kept the first lines and the general rhythm of the old poems, as Wedderburn did when he changed into sacred hymns such old « profane » songs as

« The wind blaws cauld, furious and bauld.
Wha's at my window wha, wha?
Wha suld be my luve bot he » &c

At least there is not a trace of anything objectionable in anything that has been preserved in *The New Court of Venus*, (2) which seems to stand as a half-way house between the old work upon which it was based, and the metrical Psalms of the more advanced Reformers, and as such may be treated among the causes and effects of the 16th Century Reformation.

(1) See my Athenæum Articles *The Metrical Psalms and the Court of Venus*, 24th June 1899, and *The authorship of the New Court of Venus*, 1st July same year.
(2) See also Terminal Note.

CHAPTER II.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CHAPEL ROYAL.

The next certain fact about William Hunnis was his association with the Chapel Royal in Edward's reign. I have not been able to find the patent for his appointment. He may have been appointed by the young King himself, as a « Reward » for his metrical Psalms ; or he may have been « pressed » for the sake of his fine voice for the service of the Chapel. It is possible he may have been a « child » there. Some facts in his life suggest that he had been at some university, an opportunity given Royal Choristers when their voices changed.

I am not sure that it was possible for a man like him to serve two masters, to attend to the Earl of Pembroke's business, and to sing in the King's Choir at service hours. It is however certain that he entered the Royal Service some time between 1550 and 1553, that he remained in office there till the end of his life — before and after his tribulations during Mary's reign and that in its history we may learn his conditions.

The Chapel Royal had from early times been served with the same magnificence as Cathedrals, and it was considered « an exemplar of Divine Service to the whole Kingdom, and to choirs in particular ». (1) It was conducted by Deans, Priests, Gentlemen and Children, different in number and importance in different reigns.

Sovereigns had been wont to exercise their prerogative of « taking up » singing boys (2) wherever they could be found, even from Cathedral Churches. Henry VI. gave royal permission for the « pressing of minstrels » in 1456. Richard III. (3) issued a warrant in the second year of his reign, « for the confidence and trust we have in our trusty and well-beloved servant

(1) Jebb's *Choral Service*, p. 147.
(2) Hakewell's *Old manner of holding Parliaments*, p. 89.
(3) Rymer's *Foedera*, XL, 375.

John Melyonek, one of the gentlemen of our Chappell, and knowing also his expert habilitie and cunninge in the science of musique, have licensed him.... that within all places in this our realme, as well Cathedral Churches, Colleges, Chapells, Houses of Religion, and all other franchised and exempt places as elsewhere, our College Roil at Windsor reserved and except, may take and sease for us, and in our name, all such singing men and children, being expart in the said science of musique, as he can find and think sufficient and able to do us service. At Nottingham, 16th day of September 1484 » (1). Similar warrants were granted under Henry VIII. In the reign of Edward VI, in the very year in which the metrical Psalms by Hunnis appeared (1550), Philip van Wilder, gentleman of the Privy Chamber (2), was authorized « in any churches or chappells within England, to take to the King's use such, and as many singing children and choristers as he or his deputies should think good », and two years later Richard Bowyer, Master of the Children, had a warrant authorising him to take up children to supply vacancies as might occur among the Choristers of the Chapel Royal, but these were only to be professional singers, and not the sons of gentlemen, or others who might be singing for recreation » (3). Elizabeth, in 1559-60 caused a Royal Proclamation to be made that singing boys might be taken for Windsor, any where except from the Chapel Royal and St. Paul's (4).

Among the Ordinances of Edward III, the first to attempt to settle the uncertainties in the Household, the order for the

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(1) Harl. MS. 433.

(2) Lansdowne MS. 171. Philip Van Wilder, gentleman of the Privy Chamber, to take up children : also Stowe MS. 571 f. 31^{b}.

In the first quarter of the accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber, 30 Henry VIII. Philip Wilder is mentioned as a *Luter* with wages 66s.8d. See Bibl. Arundel 97. f. 29-33 and Brewer's and Gairdner's papers of Hen.VIII. Vol. XIII. N. 781, f. 58 and f. 101 : « Philip van Wilder, Luter, £70 allowance for six singing children ». « The charges of diet, Edmond Harmond, Phillipp & the children £10, 10,0 1/4», and he appears regularly afterwards. Philip van Wilder's Inquis. Post Mortem was taken in 7 Ed. VI. 361. His son Peter received an annuity of 8d. a day. See Declared accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber, Pipe Office 54. Last year of Philip & Mary, and early years of Elizabeth.

(3) Confirmed by the Judges of the Star Chamber, 43 Elizabeth.

(4) See Nichols' *Royal Progresses*, vol. I. p. 81.

Chapel is not clear. But there are mentioned the Dean of the King's Chapel and the Chaplain, a monk of Bury, five clerks of the King's Chapel, 19 Minstrels and three waits. In the Ordinances 33 Hen. VI, there is clearly entered « The Chapell, 1 Deane, 20 Chapelins and Clerkes, 7 Childryn, 1 Chappeleyn Confessor for the Household, 1 Yoman ». From the Ordinances of Edward IV, the fullest and clearest for our purpose, we learn much concerning the Officers of the Chapel.

Though Tusser gives a doleful account of his education, to be « pressed for the Chapel » must have been a great chance for many lads, even if younger sons of good houses. There were eight of them, who were clothed, lodged, fed and educated at the Royal expense, and they had many perquisites. There was « a Master of Song, and he to drawe these children as well in the school of facett as in song, organs, or such other vertuous thinges » as well as a Master of Grammar, able to teach them in arts and poetry along with other youths of the Court. « And when any of these children comence to be XVIII years of age, and their voices change, and they cannot be preferred in the Chapelle, the number being full, then, if they will assente (1), the Kyng asseyneth them to a College of Oxford or Cambridge of his foundation there, to be at fynding and studye both sufficiently, tille the King may otherwise, advance them (2) ».

The « preferment » in the chapel might be to the post of « yeoman », or to that of « gentleman » to which offices (3) they would find an entrance more easily than would the « extraordinary gentlemen » who always awaited eagerly, without salary, the chance of a post falling vacant. In the reign of Edward IV. the Chaplains and Gentlemen, Clerks of the Chapel, were chosen by the King or by the Dean « of men of worshipp,

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(1) Ordinances for the Royal Household Ed. IV. Harl. MSS. 642. f. 63. Harl. MS. 293. Ashmole MS. 1147. 2. 3. 11. This was published by the Society of Antiquaries, in 1790.

(2) *Privy Purse Expenses* 1523 : « Item. To the Subdeane of the King's Chapel for 4 scholars, to two of which the King giveth Exhibitions in Oxford £4 ». Lansdowne MS. 737.

(3) « Two yeoman of the Chapell called Pistellers, growing from the children of the Chappell by succession of age, and after their voices change », by the Dean's nomination for « their cunning and virtue ». Harl. MS. 642.

endowed with vertues morolle and speculatif, as of their musike, shewing in descant, clene voysed, well releshed and pronouncyng, eloquent in redyng, sufficyant in organes playing, and modestiall in all other manner of behaving ». These were a considerable number of virtues and talents to be found at the same time in the same person, during those days of limited education, and to these they were required to add the usual oath of allegiance and fealty (1), and to accustom themselves to habits of regularity and punctuality (2). It may be noted that one of the qualifications for *all* the gentlemen was *organplaying*. Neither the Liber Niger nor the account books mention any organist, among the Royal Musicians or the Chapel Lists. The Cheque Book does not refer to one. Nor is there any reference to one in the authority which gives the nearest parallel to the Royal expenses, the Northumberland House Book.

In the Earl of Northumberland's Chapel we find : « The orduryng for the Keeping weekly of the orgayns oon after an other as the names of them hereafter followeth weekely. The Master of the Children, if he be a Player the first weke. A counter-tenor that is a player the 2nd week, a Tenor that is a player the 3rd weeke, a Basse that is a pleyer the 4th weeke » (3). It is important to remember this in considering the History of the Chapel Royal and its musicians. It must also he remembered that though the gentlemen of the Chapel were necessarily musicians, the Royal Minstrels and Musicians seem always to have been a separate body (4). They are noted as early as 1290, and were so numerous as to be restricted in 1315.

The Deane of the Chapel had for his perquisites all the white swords that the Knights offered to God in the Chapel, the remains of the Candles &c. He had to correct all the Chapel men « in moribus et sciencia », and assigned the Sub-Dean and « the Chaunters to guyde, kepe and rule, all the queere in stedfast servece and honourable demeaning, to oversee theyre

(1) Cheque Book of Chapel Royal, f. 71 gives the oath.
(2) Cheques or fines were extorted from those who failed.
(3) Percy's Northumberland House Book of Expenses, p. 372.
(4) See Ordinances for Royal Household as above, and Chappell's *Popular Music*, I. 4.

services and songes ». The Chaplains and Clerks of the Chapel are entered as twenty six in number ; but of these apparently six were chaplains, 20 of them were gentlemen singers, and there were eight children.

The numbers in the Chapel are not mentioned under Hen. VII ; neither were they in Henry the Eight's Ordinances at Eltham in 1526 (1). But it is ordained that the Dean of the Chapel was to be one of the King's Council ; that the whole chapel was not to move about when the King did, but that the Master « of the Children and six gentlemen should give their continual attendance in the King's court, and with some officers of the vestry, in the absence of the residue of the Chapel, should daily performe masses and anthems ». Though not stated in the Ordinances, we may gain some idea of the numbers from various State Warrants. For instance, on 7th October 1533, there was granted a warrant to Lord Windsor, Keeper of the Great Wardrobe, « to deliver to Richard Greene, Serjeaunt of the Vestry, for the use of the Chapel Royal of the Household, 40 surplices for the gentlemen and 16 for the children of the Chapel ». That means two for each of them. At another time, there were reckoned ten « for 10 children of the King's Chapell, for gownes of Tawney Chamblett lined with black satin of Bruges, and Millan bonnettes for the said children, as in the same boke of apparel is declared, xliii^{li} iii^{s}. iiii^{d}. For two children of the King's Chapell, for 2 gownes of Black Chamblett, lined with black satin of Bruges 2 cotes of yellow satten of Bruges lined with Coton, and 2 Millan bonnettes, and for making and lining of said gownes and cotes as in the said boke at large it duly apperes x^{li}. xviii^{s} » (2). If we compare the cost of the garments with that of others of the same date, we may approximately judge the estimation in which the children of the Chapel were held.

In the same MS. appears the expenses of the « gentlemen's garments » : « Item for twenty gentlemen of the King's chapel. For 20 gownes of Black Damask for the said gentlemen cxxvii^{li} x^{s} ».

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(1) Also in Harl. MS. 642.

(2) Queen's Remembrancia, Wardrobe Expenses (Hen. VIII $^{52}/_{10}$, A.) Public Record Office.

Their food also was relatively good. The Gentlemen ranked with the Chaplains in their « Bouche of Court » — the children had special meals of their own.

The Chapel Feast was a great institution. This was an annual dinner of the priests and gentlemen, each having the privilege of bringing a friend. The sovereign supplied venison and wine, a gift afterwards changed into a sum of money, and the extra expenses were settled by two stewards, chosen annually from among the officers. Many entries in the accounts of the Treasurers of the Chamber refer to royal contributions to this feast, the average sum being £3.

The gentlemen (1) had also many rewards and gratuities, as at Christenings and Weddings, and Great Feasts, the installation of the Bishop, or of their own Dean, New Year's gifts, and frequent benevolences from noblemen. The direct salary of the gentlemen, exclusive of board, lodging, and travelling expenses, was 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. a day, a sum not to be despised in those days.

It was at all times considered an honourable employment, and was eagerly sought after. Indeed, by the time of Elizabeth, they had to pass a resolution that no one hereafter should be allowed to become a member extraordinary of their company, as many attempted to be, « though not so fit as they or their friends supposed for so honourable a service » (2).

It is strange that there are no early lists preserved of the names of the gentlemen of the Chapel, though the names of the Musicians are given in full in the Office Books of Hen. VIII.

We may glean a few names from other entries, such as that concerning Wilder. John Heywood was in the service of Hen. VIII in 1515, receiving as wages 8^{d} a day. In 1519, he is not entered in the Chapel-List.

He says of himself

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(1) « Item to the gentilmen of the Chapell for paynstaking this Christmas in rewarde £6.13.4 ». (Trevelyan Papers, 20 Hen. VIII.) « Item for the children of the Chapel for singing Gloria in Excelsis on Christmas Day & St John's Day 40^{s}. Item. To the Children of the Chapell for singing of «Audivi Vocem» on All Hallow Day last past 20^{s}. (Bibl. Arundel 97. f. 29-33. Expenses Hen. VIII) «Also paid for bred, ale, & wyne for the gentilmen & childerne of the king's Chapell for their payns in helping of the Devine Service at the Blessed Communion on our Ladyes day in Lent. xi^{s}, xi^{d}. (Churchwardens Acc. St Margarets Westminster 3. Ed VI ».)

(2) June 18th 1592. Cheque Book Chapel Royal.

Long have I been a singing-man.
And sondrie parts ofte have I songe (1).

In 1526 he is called a « player for the verginalles, » and in 1838 he « pleyed an enterlude with his children before the princess Mary » (2). Heywood was in great favour with Mary.

« Robert Testwood, a singing man, and John Marbeck, a singing man, were arraigned and condemned in relation to the mass in 35 Hen. VIII » says Hall in his « Chronicles » 858, but we know that Marbeck was pardoned, and lived to do good work.

There were also Kit Cornish, and William Crane, afterwards to be noticed as among the Masters of the Children, and there was the famous Master William Lambe (3).

Mr. Robert White (4), who was a composer in the style of Palestrina, but before his date, is believed to have been of Henry the Eight's Chapel, though he survived till 1581. The transcribers of the Part Books in Christ Church Library, Oxford, write :

« Thou diest White, chief splendour of our art
But what thy art hath wrought, shall nevermore depart ».

Unfortunately very few of his anthems have come down to us.

Thomas Sexton was the name of another of the Gentlemen. In the Wardrobe Accounts of 3 & 4 Henry VIII, there is a warrant for furnishing Thomas Sexton, one of the Gentlemen of the Chapel, with a gown that was to cost £ 11.18., and William Crane was to have a gown costing £ 9.12.

Hugh Rhodes, the author of the metrical *Book of Nurture*, describes himself as gentleman of the Chapel Royal. His name appears in none of the lists of 1552-3, nor in the Check-book of

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(1) See his poem « In Praise of the Meane » Cott. MS. Vesp. A. XXV, f. 132b.

(2) Madden's *Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary*, pp. 12. 62.

(3) *Stat. Reg.* 28th April 1580. Thomas Turnour « A memorial of ye famous monuments and charitable Almesdeeds of ye right worshippfull Master William Lambe Esquier, somtyme Gent of ye Chapell in ye reign of ye most renowned Kinge Henry the eight and late citizen of London, and free of ye right worshipful Company of the Clothworkers, Deceased the xxi Aprill 1580. 6d ».

(4) « Also Mr. Robert Whyte His Bitts of three parte songes in partition, with ditties 11 ; without ditties 16. » See Harl. MS. 7337, and other MS. collections.

1561. We must therefore suppose that he was 1st, either a gentleman extraordinary, 2nd, a gentleman of earlier date, or 3rd a gentleman between 1553 and 1561. Dr Furnivall (1) believes his book was printed before 1554. The *Dictionary of National Biography* says, 1550, and that he also wrote *The Song of the Boy-Bishop at St Pauls*, sung before Queen Mary, and containing fulsome praise of her.

The relation of the Chapel Royal to the developments of musical art must not be forgotten. Sheltered and protected as they were, the members had every opportunity of improving any musical talent that was in them.

Church Music as an art had its origin in England. John Tinctor, Master of the Chapel to Ferdinand, King of Sicily, Jerusalem and Hungary, 1458-94, wrote a tract on *Proportionale Musices* in which he speaks of Figurative Harmony as of English invention. « This new art, as I may call it, the fountain and source of it, is said to have been among the English, of whom Dunstable (2) was the chief ». Erasmus said in his *Encomium Moriae* that « The English were the most accomplished in the skill of music of any people ». Glareanus, who published his *Dodecachordon* in 1547 (3), calls their compositions « ancient ».

William Mason (4) shows how extremely intricate Cathedral Music was at the beginning of the 16th century :

« Abstruse harmonical proportions, which had neither common sense nor the approbation of the common ear to excuse them, were diligently studied to the entire neglect of simple melody and syllabic distinctness. The thirty-two Commisioners who were appointed to reform the ecclesiastical law in the time of Henry VIII., and who did so during the reign of his son, justly condemned this kind of singing as being unintelligible and confusing. » Set to this intricate, or as it was called « curious » music, the Genealogy in the first chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel became a jumble of ideas. « While the bass was holding forth the existence of Abraham, the Tenor, in

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(1) Dr Furnivall's *Babees Book*, Shakespeare Society, 1868.
(2) John of Dunstable died in 1455.
(3) Hawkins *History of Music*. Vol. I. 381-450.
(4) William Mason. *Critical Essay on Cathedral Music* ed. 1782, p. XVI.

defiance of nature and chronology was begetting Isaac, the Counter-Tenor begetting Jacob ; and the treble begetting Joseph and all his brethren ». « The disregard of melodious air was a necessary consequence of this affectation of harmonical science, just as, at the same time, plain solid reasoning gave place to metaphysical subtleties among the learned. »

Chappell (1) also shews how in the Scholastic Music then in vogue, men studied point and counterpoint, fugue and the ingenious working out of parts, rhythm and melody being lightly esteemed. He does not know any music of the 16th century by great composers, set to the rhythm required for ballads, except Dowland's later « Frog Galliard ».

John Rastell, brother-in-law of Sir Thomas More, in Henry the Eight'hs reign, published *the Interlude of the Four Elements*, in which Humanyte says to Ignorance :

Humanyte. Then let us some lusty ballad sing.
Ygnorance. Nay Sir, by the Heaven King !
For methinks it serveth for nothing
All such peevish prick eared song.
Humanyte. Peace man ! Prick song may not be despysed
For there-with God is well-plesyd,
Honoured, praysed, and servyd
In the Church oft times among.
Ygnorance. Is God well pleasyd trowst thou thereby ?
Nay, nay, for there is no reason why.
For is it not as good to say playnly
Gyf me a spade,
As gyf me a spa ve va ve va ve vade ?
But if thou wilt have a song that is good
I have one of Robin Hood ».

Erasmus, who had himself been a chorister when a boy, was much against Cathedral-Music. He said that the singers do not think what they say, and the people do not hear what is sung. He disapproved of the keeping up of whole « flocks of boys, maintained at great expense, whose time is spent in learning such gibble gabble, while they are taught nothing that is either good or useful » (2).

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(1) Chappell's *History of Music*. Vol. I. p. 105.
Dowland's *First Book of Songs* appeared 1597, Morley's *Consort Lessons* 1599.
(2) *Commentaries on Corinthians*. XVI. 19. Hawkins, *l. c.*, I. 381.

It was natural that the more thorough-going reformers should eschew determinedly such a style of music, so impracticable for purposes of education or devotion. Though Luther's (1) fondness for music made him place the art next to theology, yet, as his fellow-reformers were suspicious of its temptations, he collected simple melodies for his Psalms and Hymns. Calvin was no musician, and rejected antiphonal singing and choir service altogether, and inculcated the singing in unison by all worshippers, of the metrical Psalms, as a means of grace rather than of sensuous enjoyment.

Calvin's spirit affected Edward the Sixth's Chapel (2). The metrical Psalms were written in Ballad-measure, and in many cases were set to Ballad tunes, either English, borrowed from the German people, or songs and melodies written by foreign composers. Anthony à Wood says that « Sternhold caused musical notes to be set to his Psalms, thinking thereby that the courtiers would sing them instead of their sonnets, but they did not, some few excepted ».

John Marbeck, organist at Windsor, set the whole Cathedral service to musical notes (3), a labour really intended as a contribution to the Reformation movement, as much as was his Concordance, for which he afterwards so nearly lost his life.

We can therefore see the peculiar limitations to musical production in the Chapel Royal during Edward's reign. It is true any intentional check was removed when Mary succeeded. But her reign was a time of unrest, and of mental tension, not conducive to the musical composer. As regards musical history therefore both reigns were poor in production, but who knows what conceptions were being worked out in obscurity to glorify the later reign, enriched by all the seed-plantings of the earlier century.

The same remark may be made concerning Dramatic Art. The Chapel had been the Shelter, and the School of performers in Masque, Morality and Interlude, and the opportunity of in-

(1) Hawkins *History of Music*. I. 453.

(2) See an act for putting away the Romish Books Called Antiphonals, Missales, Scrayles, Processionalles, Mauncelles, Legends, Pyes, Portugas, Primers, and all images except those that adorn the tombs of people not saints. 1 Ed. VI.

(3) Hawkins *Hist. of Music* I 449.

ventors, poets and dramatists. But the times were not yet ripe for full inspiration.

The number of the Gentlemen seems to have been increased to thirty-two in Edward VI's reign, and kept up during Mary's and Elizabeth's times, but clerical and lay members seem to have been strangely mixed in the lists. We have no clear dated list of the reign of Edward VI until its close, when Mary seems to have taken over the whole chapel establishment without change. It is curious that Hawkins and Burney, and Rimbault borrowing from them, give the authority of their list of Edward VI. as « A Manuscript at the British Museum », without reference or date. In spite of the most diligent search I have failed to find this. But I have found more than one list, each of which differs from theirs in some details. The following list in Stowe MS. 571. f. 36^{b}. is believed to have been compiled in the reign of Edward VI :

The Chapell

Mr of the Children, Richard Bowyer, fee	40^{li}
Largesse for the children at High Feasts	9^{li} 13^{s} 4^{d}
Allowance for Breakfast for the children	16^{li}
	65^{li} 13^{s} 4^{d}

Gentlemen of the Chappell.

Emery Tuckfield
Nicholas Aurchbalde
William Walker
Robert Chamberleyne
John Leide
William Gravesend
John Angell
William Hutchins
Robert Philipps
Thomas Byrde
Richard Bowyer
Robert Pirrey
William Barbor
Robert Richmond
Thomas Waite
Thomas Talles
Nicholas Mellowe

32
Euerie of them
at 7 $\frac{1}{2}$
a day

Thomas Wright Robert Stone John Benbowe John Sheppheard William Mauperley George Edwards Robert Morcocke Willm Hynnes Thomas Manne Richard Aylesworth Thomas Palfreman Roger Kenton Lucas Caustell Richard Farrant Edward Adams	amounting by year to 365li	
John Smith Robert Bassocke	2 at $4\frac{1}{2}$ the day each of them	13 li. 13 s. 4 d.
Thomas Causton Richard Lucam John Denham Walter Thirleby Tedder Morrison	5, euerie of them at 3d the daie	22 li. 16 s. 8 d.
Hugh Williams per Annum (1)	40 s.	40 s.

This is almost identically the same as one preserved by the society of Antiquaries in « A Booke of Fees and Offices Primo die Augusti Primo Reginæ Mariæ » (2). Another list is preserved in the account of Sir Edward Waldegrave, Master of the Wardrobe for the funeral expenses of Ed. VI, 8th Aug. 1553, containing most of these names. Prominence is given to those

(1) The arithmetic is erroneous in some points, evidently based on other MS. transcripts without names, as the following of 1552.

Mr. of the Children Richard Bowyer fee	XL li.
Largesse to ye children at Feastes	IX li. XIII s. iiijd.
Allowance for breakfast	XVI li.
Gent. of ye Chapell 32 for every of them fee	XI li. XVIII s.
2 at iiijd. ob. ye daie a peece	VI li. XVI s. X d. ob.
5 at iijd. ob. ye daie a peece	IIII li. XI s. iijd.
1 at 2 li. per annum	II li.

(Addit. MS. 34,010, f. 32b).

(2) Printed in *Archæologia* XII, 372.

who are priests,and they have 9 yards of black for mourning,the gentlemen have only 7 yards, the servants 3 yards, and the children 2 yards. I found another list among the papers subsidiary to the Wardrobe accounts (1), for Mary's coronation, which appeared in my article in « The Athenæum » Sep. 9 : 1905 : « Mary's Chapel Royal and her Coronation play ».

It is interesting to note among these « gentlemen », the names of those who rose to fame in later years, in Music, Literature and the Drama. Robert Phillips was such a noted singer, that wherever he went, the longest possible songs were put up for him (2).

It is curious that in none of these lists appears the name of Richard Edwards, unless « George » is a misnomer ; yet in the roll of the New Year's gifts for Philip & Mary 1556-7 is included « Richard Edwardes of the Chapel, certain verses ; Shepharde of the Chapel, three rolls of songs ».

Edwards may have taken the place forfeited by William Hunnis on his imprisonment 1556. He must at least have been appointed sometime before 1561, when the Check Book of the Chapel Royal commences. The songs referred to may be those preserved in the British Museum in honour of Mary's Maids of Honour and others (Cotton MS. Titus. A. xxiv. 83).

Richard Edwards is believed to have produced several musical compositions, and Hawkins thinks he wrote the music as well as words of the poem « Amantium irae ». A Poet and a man of genius, his literary work is treated elsewhere.

Thomas Palfreyman was more a literary than a musical composer. He wrote verses, but chiefly published prose works. *A Paraphrase on the Romans ; An Exhortation to Knowledge and the Love of God* 1560 ; *Divine Meditations* dedicated to Mistress Isabel Harrington, one of the Gentlewomen of the Queen's Privy Chamber 1573 : *The Treatise of Heavenly Philosophie*, dedicated to the Earl of Sussex 1578. He enlarged William Baldwin's *Treatise of Morall Philosophy*, a popular book of his time.

Marbeck's service (3) was harmonised chiefly by members of

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(1) Exchequer Accounts, 427, (5) 7th Sept. 1553.

(2) Hawkins, *Hist. of Music*, I, 450.

(3) *The Book of Common Prayer noted.* Imprinted by Richard Grafton, Printer to the King's Maiestie, cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum, 1550.

the Chapel, and the names affixed are those of Thomas Tallis, Thomas Cawston, M. Johnson, Oakland, Shephard, M. Taverner. This was printed by Day in 1560; and in 1565 he brought out another collection, to which the names of Heath, Robert Hasleton, and Knight were added.

Neither does the list include the name of Christopher Tye; and yet it has been noted that in 1553 he had published his metrical rendering of the Acts of the Apostles, styling himself on the title-page a « gentleman of his Majesty's Chapel ». He may have been called so from his other duties. He had been born in Westminster, was one of the children of the Chapel, and had been sent to the University.

He had been granted the degree of Doctor of Music at Cambridge in 1545, and at Oxford in 1548, and became musical Preceptor to Edward VI and the other members of the Royal Family.

Dr Christopher Tye was a distinguished Musician, and the first anthem set to music after the Reformation, was his « I will exalt thee ». He is credited with having had an irascible temper. Appointed organist to Queen Elizabeth, on one occasion she is said to have sent a message to him that his playing was out of tune, to which he returned the audacious reply « that her ears were out of tune ». Yet he survived. He was too valuable not to be spared. Most of the Psalm-tunes, that have been preserved, not of foreign origin (1), are believed to have been composed by Dr Tye, Marbeck, Tallis, Bird, Shephard, Parsons, and William Munday (2). *The Psalms set to music in four parts, which may be song to all musical instruments, set forthe for the encrease of vertue and abolishyng of other vayne and trifling Ballades. M. Talys Medius* were published by John Day 1563.

John Baldwin « a singing man » of Windsor 1591, recounts, the celebrated composers of his time in an MS. collection of Mottets and Madrigals. He says (Hawkins, *Hist. Music*, Vol. I. 470) :

(1) Dutch Psalms in verse were printed in 1559 by Jan de Laet, Antwerp, in which all the Psalms and some hymns were set to music.

(2) See Hawkins's *History of Music*, pp. 450-457.

« I will begin with White, Shepperd (1), Tye, and Tallis (2) Parsons (3), Gyles Mundie, th'oulde one of the Queenes Pallis, Mundie yonge, th'oulde man's sonne and lykwise others moe. There names would be too longe therefore I let them goe ».

Richard Farrant might well have been included in this list. He was a gentleman of the Chapel in the reigns of Edward VI. Mary, and Elizabeth. He left it to become the Master of the Children at Windsor, 1564, but was re-admitted on Nov. 5, 1569, in the room of Thomas Causton (4) and died 30th Nov. 1580. His musical works are printed in Barnard & Boyce's Collections. His favorite anthem was « Lord for thy tender mercy's sake ». He also acted, with the children of Windsor before the Queen, and wrote at least some of the plays for them (See Revel's Books. 26th Nov. 1574 Bd 1213(4) P. R. O and my later chapters).

We may therefore believe that William Hunnis found himself in good company in Edward's Chapel. He does not seem to have distinguished himself in Church Music. None of his musical compositions at least have come down to us. The *Dictionary of National Biography* is in error in stating that there are some of his pieces preserved in the music school at Oxford. Musical power and feeling however undoubtedly he must have had; and perhaps musical genius too. One composition of later years

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(1) Shephard of the Chapel gives a New Yeares present of three rolls of songs to Queen Mary 1556-7. (See the Roll of the Newe Yeare's Gifts).

(2) Probably educated at the Music School of St. Paul's under Thomas Mulliner. He died 1585, and was buried at Greenwich. Strype preserves the inscription on his tomb :

Enterred here doth ly a worthy wyght
Who for long time in music bore the bell,
His name to shew, was Thomas Tallis hyght
In honest vertuous lyfe he dyd excell.
He served long time in Chapel with great prayse
Fower sovereign's reygns (a thing not often seene)
I meane King Henry, and Prynce Edward's dayes ·
Quene Marye and Elizabeth our Quene.
He mary'd was though children he had none
And lyved in love full thre and thirty years ». &c.

(3) Unfortunately drowned at Newcastle on Trent while still young. See Cheque Book of the Chapel Royal.

(4) See also Cheque Book Chapel Royal. The entries are a little confusing, and may mean either that there were two Richard Farrants, or that the one managed to belong to both choirs; as the sovereign could not be in two chapels at once, this is possible. Richard Farrant was clearly called Master of the Children of Windsor later than 1569.

may inferentially be attributed to him. In the most brilliant festivity of his century he was the chief artist ; and the music played in his device *may* be attributed to him. Had it been by a great musician the composer would have been named ; had it been popular music, the names of the tunes would have been mentioned. The general effect is described by one of the audience thus : « The hole armony, conveyed in tyme, tune and temper, thus incomparably melodious, with what pleasure, with what sharpnes of conceyt, with what lyvely delighte, this moought pears into the hearer's harts, I pray ye imagine for yourself, &c. » (1). If we may believe critics, young Shakespeare also was at the Kenilworth festivities. If so, the chief impression left on him also, was the charm of the music.

> I heard a Mearemaid on a Dolphines back
> Uttering such dulcet and harmonious breath
> That the rude sea grewe civill at her song
> And certaine starres shot madly from their Spheres
> To hear the sea-maid's Musick (2).

In *Twelfth Night* also he speaks of the music of Arion on the Dolphin's Back.

But in Edward's time we hear nothing of Hunnis as a composer. At this date we may picture him a noticeably handsome man standing surpliced amid his fellows at morning and evening prayers in the magnificent Chapel Royal at Whitehall, chanting in unison Marbeck's new English service ; or singing such of Sternhold's Psalms — perhaps, in those early days, such of his own — as had been set to decorous music.

And listening in the Chapel would sit, not only the young King, but his attendant nobles, from which group passed away first the flighty Seymour (3), and the honest but imprudent Protector (4) with his party, so that the ambitious Northumberland and fortunate Pembroke might be more clearly noted. And on the women's side, where was no Queen, consort or maternal, after Katherine Parr's troubles, amid the ladies at

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(1) *Laneham's Letter*, Nichol's *Progresses*, vol. I. p. 458.
(2) *Midsummer's Nights Dream* II, 2, 905.
(3) Executed 20th March 1548-9.
(4) Executed 22nd January 1551-2.

times would sit the Lady Jane, fresh from her studies in Greek Philosophy and Protestant Divinity with her beloved tutor Master Aylmer, which were to fortify her later against the arguments of the Abbot Feckenham himself.

The Lady Elizabeth doubtless often appeared in her brother's Chapel. He seems to have felt a real fraternal affection for his « Sweet sister Temperance », in spite of the injurious action that he was impelled to take against her, in his so-called « Will and Testament ».

While the air of the Valley of Humiliation was tempering her too flighty spirits, there is no doubt, that the teaching and preaching she enjoyed during her brother's reign, permanently affected the character of her religious faith.

But the Lady Mary never sat there. She alone, whose innate courage has hardly been realised by her successors, she alone, who had refused to bow to her father's will while her mother lived, (1) refused to worship at her brother's command (2). She was informed she must stop having mass in her house, and conform to the religious service instituted for the realm, but she took no notice (3). The Comptroller and other officers of her house (4) were called before the Privy Council, and ordered to see that the Princess did not have Catholic Priests resorting to her, or have mass performed in her house. They said the Princess would dismiss them if they so acted. Then the Council went directly to the Princess, and said she really « must stop this masse, and they would choose officers of the House suittable for her ». She said she was old enough to choose her own officers, and if they put any of their men into her house she should leave it. Her father and mother had not brought her up to baking and brewing, but she would do it for herself rather than be interfered with. She was a humble and devoted subject

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(1) Only after her mother's death, did she yield the heart broken submission to her father, preserved in Harl MS. 283,50.

(2) Dr Mallet and Mr Barkley, Mary's chaplains were indited Nov^r 1550 for saying mass, and some of her servants sent to the Tower, but released in 1551. (Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials vol. II. pt. 1, p. 441 and 457. (« On 24^th day of March 1551 Pame Sunday and as that daye were put into the Flete dyuers gentylmen as Sir Antonie Browne with dyvers other, for heryng of masse in my Lady Mary's Curte at St. Jones and was there Clerkwell ».

(3) Harl. MS. 6195, f. 5.

(4) Ibid. f. 24.

of her sweet brother, and would obey him in all other matters than this. She did not think he was old enough to judge in this matter, though they might unrol it before him. If they were to plan about the building of a ship, they would unfold the matter to him, but would not think him old enough to judge in that. She would do as she pleased until he grew older. Rather than use any other service than that was used at the King her father's burial, she would lay her head upon the block. Her father had promised the Emperor she should have free exercise of her Mother's religion. The Council said they knew not of it, but she said she would rather believe the Emperor's word than theirs. Then she added « I am sickly but I would not willingly die, and will do the best I can to preserve my life ; yet if I shall chance to die, I will protest openly that you of the Council be the causes of my death » ! (1)

Apparently her pluck scared them for awhile, and they let her alone. They dared not let themselves be flouted openly before the country, by a woman and a ward, but Mary quietly ignored their orders, and they were mightily perplexed how to act. In their hearts they desired to crush her stubborn will ; but the health of the young King, always delicate, became very uncertain. Unquiet visions of a troubled succession disturbed their thoughts, and an uncertainty of the views the possible future Queen might hold regarding their present action made them vacillate uneasily. None had nerve to do anything, or brain to plan a line of policy but Northumberland and Pembroke.

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(1) Harl. MS. 6195. f. 12-19.

CHAPTER III.

CHANGE OF CREED.

After the wavering principle and uncertain despotism of Henry VIII, the simpler and more definite lines of the government under Edward VI had made domestic and intellectual progress possible. The support he had given Protestantism had allowed a certain amount of liberty of conscience. He had interested himself in the reestablishment of schools, whose foundations his father had absorbed. He encouraged the printing of English Bibles, and the public reading of passages of Scripture was ordained. He painted up in Churches, in place of crosses and images, the Ten Commandments (1) and passages of Scripture that all might read. The *English Prayer-book* was formulated, and the clergymen were required to preach. His more potent Councillors supported Protestantism, but were so diligently occupied in keeping up the balance of their own power, that they did not attempt to interfere much with the thoughts, or even the speech of ordinary men, so that their actions led to no law breaking. To be let alone was all the people required just then, for the national conscience was taking shape, and mental sinews were gaining strength to bear the martyrdoms of the two succeeding reigns.

The favourable prospects of Edward's youth, were clouded by anxieties regarding the state of his health. However much some of his subjects might have regretted the personal loss of Henry, there had been an appreciable relief in the freedom from his arbitrary domination, and consolation in the restful sense of an assured succession. There had been no question,

(1) Also paid to Thomas Stockdale for 35 ells of cloth for the front of the Rood Lofte whereas the x commandments be written $23^{s}\ 4^{d}$. Also payd him that did wryght the x commandments $56^{s}\ 9^{d}$. Also payd for 2 waynscott bordes for the Hie Aulter 12^{d}. Also payd for the wryghtynge of the Scriptures upon the same bordes 5^{s}. (Churchwarden's accounts. St. Margarets, Westminster. 2 Ed. VI).

from any quarter, of Edward's right to reign. The prospect of his death, immature, unmarried, threatened a national crisis. Some men alive might have remembered the wars of the Roses, and all knew of their disastrous effect upon the country. Were they to be repeated in the land? Beyond the fading life of this pale stripling lay the terrors of a contestable succession, a succession in which for the first time in the history of the land, *all* the possible claimants were *women*. Sex could not, as in the case of Stephen and of John, determine a new line of inheritance. Four princesses stood on the very steps of the throne, each with some claim, and all with some doubt. Even to some Catholics, the legitimacy of Mary was uncertain, for her father had married his brother's widow, and an act of Parliament had decreed her to be illegitimate. The Protestants were in double doubt. If it were not lawful for Henry to marry Katherine, the Pope's dispensation could not make it so. If they accepted the marriage as a Biblical possibility and a political expediency, the divorce could not be canonical while matrimonial fidelity had been preserved If the divorce was not legal, then Elizabeth was illegitimate. The third claimant, Mary Stuart, could point to a flawless and royal descent from Margaret, Queen of Scotland, elder daughter of Henry VII, and sister of Henry VIII. But she was the Queen of Scots, an alien in England, and a denizen of France. (Some people thought her aunt Lady Margaret Lennox had a better right, having been born in England). The fourth was Frances, Duchess of Suffolk, daughter of Mary, younger daughter of Henry VII and sister of Henry VIII. After her and her heirs, all women, might be reckoned her sister Elinor, Countess of Cumberland, and her heirs. From one to the other of these how often would men's thoughts wander, as they looked to the future. Henry VIII had foreseen this, and in 1544, he had attempted in a bungling way, to remedy the evils he had wrought. Without repealing the statute of 1536 (1), which determined that *both* of his daughters were illegitimate, he declared them both capable of succeeding Edward, in default of heirs of his own body. Henry's position as Head of the

(1) Five days after the passing of this act, died the Duke of Richmond, Henry's illegitimate son, whom he evidently intended to make eligible after Edward.

Church as well as of the State, made it possible for him to have this proviso ratified by Act of Parliament. What gave him power to go so far, allowed him to go a step further. In order to bar the Scottish heir, he treated the English throne as his private and personal property, and nominated Frances and Elinor, the heirs of his sister Mary, Duchess of Suffolk, as successors to his own daughters, in the event of their dying childless. After these, he let the throne go to the « rightful heirs ». Even the masterful Henry felt that he had interfered long enough with the Providence of the future. Chance was greatly against all these nominated successors dying without issue. But by the end of 1552 it seemed clear that his only male heir was passing away. The « fond prophecy » of Merlin (1), that « there should never be King crowned of England after the King's son that now is » was about to be literally fulfilled.

There were wide-spread rumours of poison, but there is little ground for any real suspicion. His guardians were too dependent on his existence not to do the best they could for him. Atmospheric poison, doubtless played a part. His physicians advised his removal to the purer air of the country, his councillors dare not let him go. They were suspicious of each other, and determined to know how each minute passed with the king. The chief of them, Northumberland and Pembroke, had taken their stand on the side of ultra Protestantism during Edward's reign. If they accepted Henry's will and his daughter Mary, her determined Catholicism made it seem impossible for them to hope any continuance of their power. They fancied they read in the will of the people a decision in favour of Protestantism, strong enough to give reason to exclude a Catholic Sovereign. Yet they could not pass Mary by, to choose the Protestant Elizabeth. They pictured a stormy future for the realm under either sister, who could each taunt the other with illegitimacy. No doubt it seemed to come as an

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(1) John Ryan of St. Botolph, fruiterer, had heard in his own house, the Bell, upon Tower Hill, about St. Peter's day, last past, at breakfast, from Roger Dekanford and a clerk and others, that « there sholde never more be King of England after the King's decease ». But he had read in an old book of Merlin, that Edward should succeed his father, but that after him there should be no more Kings crowned of England ». Investigations followed. Uncalendared papers. Henry VIII. 1538-9 Box V. 163.

inspiration to Northumberland, the idea of cutting the Gordian knot by excluding both, and by obeying Henry's will in so far as it barred the Scottish succession, to select an heiress at once legitimate, native-born, and Protestant, Frances (1), Duchess of Suffolk. Here he attempted another juggle, which has never been satisfactorily explained ; and chose in her place her daughter, the Lady Jane Grey. There is no doubt that the young king was consulted about the instrument entitled his will, and that he assented to Northumberland's specious arguments. He was not incapable in law of making a will, by reason of his age. But it was necessary that it should be ratified by Parliament, before it could determine the succession on other lines than those accepted by a previous Parliament. Northumberland thought he knew how to work this. He tried to bribe Elizabeth secretly to give up her right to the crown ; but she stoutly insisted she had no right at all to the crown while her sister lived. He had no immediate fear of the Scotch heiress, even with France at her back. He believed that he had only one party to settle with, and that he was strong enough to do that.

Mary and her advisers looked grimly on; patience and caution were their stepping-stones across the river of fate. Only it was clear to themselves, that if there were to be a fight to the death, they could be martyrs, if not conquerors.

It was only after having, as he thought, arranged every thing to his satisfaction (2), that, in May, Northumberland married his son, Lord Guildford Dudley, to the Lady Jane Grey. The Earl of Pembroke married his son to her sister Catherine, 21st May 1553. But Edward died too soon. His will had not been ratified, or even published, and Henry's will legally dominated the conscience and judgment of the people. The Council concealed the death of the young King from the 6th till the 9th or 10th of July, hoping by delay to make opportunity. Then they exploded on the people their new constitution. The

(1) She did not die until after the accession of Elizabeth. Her funeral took place on Dec. 3rd 1559. Dom. Ser. St. Pap. Eliz. VII. 65.

(1) 2nd. day 1153 July, Doctor Hodskyn preached, and neither prayed for the Lady Mary nor for the Lady Elizabeth, and the next Sunday after preached the Bishoppe of London, Nicolas Reddesle, and there called both the said Ladies bastards, *Grey Friars Chronicle*. 78.

Duchess of Suffolk's daughter as their Protestant Queen, by the will of her boy-cousin Edward, with Northumberland's son as her wedded husband, and Northumberland's self as her chief councillor. The chief councillor overreached himself in his greedy grasp of power. Had he not married the Lady Jane into his own family, his confederates would have been more loyal to him. They might have hoped that some of their sons might have won her. Had she been married to the Earl of Devonshire (1), the only possible male heir, her claim would have been strengthened and her person made more popular. The people might have been inclined to have given poor captive Courtenay's wife a chance. But they did not like surprises, did not like too much Northumberland, doubted his shifty ways, and saw through his intention of ruling by the white hand of his daughter-in-law. They had had other thoughts, and had made other plans, those English people. The Councillors felt they had made a mistake when they saw the cold reception given to the Lady Jane. Not even her modesty, youth and touching beauty kindled popular enthusiasm at her Proclamation on the 10th of July. The people did not cry « God bless her » as she passed.

Rapid couriers brought the anxious Councillors strange news of Mary. Now they had their surprise. When she first heard the news of her brother's death, she fled from Bury to Framlingham Castle, for greater security, if attacked, and for a chance of escape abroad, should she be defeated. But it was caution, and not cowardice that determined her first step. An inspiration seemed to have come upon the hitherto silent and repressed woman, that affected all who surrounded her. Nobles and Commons, Catholics and Protestants from far and near flocked to her standard. Men sent against her, deserted to her side, ships sent to bar her escape, acknowledged her authority. Nobles proclaimed her as Queen all over the Country. She had

(1) He derived his claim from Katherine, second daughter of Ed. IV and sister of Elizabeth, Queen of Henry VII.

She married Sir William Courtenay, who died in 1511. Her son Henry Courtenay, created Earl of Devonshire and Marquis of Exeter, had been executed on 9th Dec. 1538. His heir, William, had been a captive in the Tower from 1538 till 1553. He came next after the Countess of Cumberland in the group of « rightful heirs ».

hitherto been moved as a pawn upon the board of political chess; now she had touched the goal, the *Pawn* became a *Queen*, and turned with all her new powers, able to move in any direction, and to control, at any distance, all those that crossed her path.

The London Council of State determined to send out the Duke of Suffolk with an army against her. But here again the unexpected happened. The only royal Act that Jane the Queen did of her own free will, was to determine that her father-in-law, and not her father, would go forth and settle with Queen Mary. Northumberland was no coward, but he doubted the fidelity of those he left behind, and made them sign a paper, in which they took upon themselves the responsibility of his actions. If he started with any misgivings at his heart regarding his fate, they were soon increased, « for the people press to see, but not one sayth, God speed us! » (1) Desertions, rumours, reproaches, he saw his mistake when too late, and tried awkwardly to repair it by proclaiming Mary himself. But she was not to be hood-winked by him. She secured and kept him prisoner. The news flew fast that turned the Kingdom's fate. Mary was approaching London, with a loyal army at her back, and her sister Elizabeth followed in her train. Believing that the voice of the people was the voice of God, the Earl of Pembroke, nine days after assisting at Queen Jane's proclamation, along with the Earl of Shrewsbury and the Earl of Arundel went out with the Lord Mayor, to proclaim Queen Mary at Cheapside Cross. His decision strengthened many waverers, and encouraged many loyal subjects, and the crowd rejoiced and cried « Long live Queen Mary », while Pembroke flung up his cap and scattered golden largess as they shouted. Grafton, the Royal Printer, stopped the circulation of Jane's proclamation, that he had just published, and began to set Queen Mary's up in type. The suddenness of the change is illustrated in the Diary of Edward Underhill (2), the gentleman pensioner. His child was to be christened « Guildford » on the 19th July, the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Pembroke, and

(1) Harl MS. 353, f. 194.

(2) He was imprisoned on the 5th August, for making a Ballad against the Papists. Harl. MS. 425, f. 86.

Queen Jane were to be sponsors. Lady Throgmorton, wife of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, was sent as the Queen's deputy. When she went back to the Tower after the christening, the Cloth of Estate was taken down, and all the Paraphernalia of Royalty had vanished, for Mary had meanwhile been proclaimed upon Tower Hill. The girl Queen's sad short reign of nine days was over (1), a reign in which had been no coronation, no parliament, few proclamations, and but one prosecution. Gilbert Potter had had his ears cut off in the Tower for saying « The Lady Mary hath the better right », and poor Pratte his friend (2), wrote to encourage him, though « caught in the grip of the ragged Bear », 13th July 1553. Now it was all over. The Tower, the first resting-place of proud sovereigns, became the prison of traitorous subjects. *The Queen* drew near. All the romance and chivalry of English hearts upheld her. The bluff figure of her despotic father, popular even in his tyranny, rose behind her, and supported her by the might of his dead hand, and partially repentant will. The majestic personality of her mother stood beside her, dignified by her wrongs in the imaginations of her elder subjects, who rejoiced to see right done her in the person of her only child. And had she not suffered too, this woman, who, but now, had come to her own?

Some among her subjects remembered when the fair (3) bright child had been made Princess of Wales, as heir apparent, and sent forth to hold court at Ludlow Castle in her infant years, while Kings and Emperors sued for her hand. They remembered how, for no fault of her own, the young girl had been cast down from her glory, disgraced before her people and the world, rejected by her suitors, separated from her noble and affectionate mother, and impoverished in her later development. Though they had said nothing, these English-

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(1) *The Chronicle of Queen Jane* p. 115 (Camden Soc. Publications).

(2) Poor Pratte's Letter was printed, and copies were scattered in the camp, of « the ragged Bear, the grete Devill Dudley ruleth (Duke I should have sayd) well let that passe, seeing it is out, but I trust he shall not long ».

(3) See a conference between William Thomas, Clerk of the Council, and some Italian gentlemen at Bonomy in Italy immediately after Henry's death, reproaching him for his King's wrongs. « His daughter Mary being one of the fairest, virtuosest gentilest creatures in the world, through his divelish obstinacy could never be maried ». Harl. MS. 353. See also Miss Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of England*. Vol. III, pp. 305. 310.

men, they had watched her prudence and patience, sympathised with her sorrows, and they wanted to give her a chance. Now that they saw also her courage and her success, they received her with tumultuous acclamation. There was no Stephen to contest the throne, with this heiress of Matilda.

She had no fear of the gentle girl in the Tower, now that Northumberland was secured. Any possible rising for Protestant Elizabeth, had been check-mated by the action of Northumberland with the Lady Jane, and by her own wise determination implicitly to obey her father's will. The Scotch succession, with its French perplexities, was out of consideration while Mary lived. The Emperor, her mother's relative, the greatest of European monarchs, once her suitor, was now her guardian and her firm ally. Mary was *herself* in these first few months, the only months in which she ever really *lived*, the only months in which she tasted the sweets of her own will. In the first flush of triumph her natural leniency was displayed. She kept hold of Lady Jane Grey and her party, it is true, but gave orders that they should have exercise and other indulgences. She set free the political prisoners of the last reigns as a customary act of policy; she set free many of her own, as a personal act of grace. She even allowed the Duke of Suffolk to have his liberty, because his wife told her that confinement hurt his health. She made no abrupt political changes, and accepted most of the Royal servants. She ordered the Earl of Pembroke to keep his house until his conduct should be enquired into, but in a few days she accepted his proffered fealty, forgave him freely, and allowed him to appear as one of the chief mourners, at Edward's funeral on August 8th He cheerfully broke off the match between his son and Lady Catherine Grey, and prepared faithfully to serve the Queen. But she had long arrears to settle with Northumberland, and she handed him over to prompt justice. The State Trials (1) of John Duke of Northumberland, William Marquess of Northampton, and John Earl of Warwick, for levying war against the Queen in favour of Lady Jane Grey, took place on August 18th. The Earl of Pembroke sat among the judges who attaint-

(1) Baga de Secretis, Pouch XXI.

ed of treason the man they had sent to his doom. Many others were tried with him. All were found guilty, but most of them were afterwards pardoned. Even Northumberland seemed to have had hopes. He professed that he had been a Catholic at heart all the time. But his late equivocation did not save him. Offended majesty must avenge its wrongs on the chief sinner, and he was executed on the 22nd Aug., with Sir John Gates and Sir Thomas Palmer. Nobody seemed very sorry for his fate, and some thought it a just retribution for the death of the Lord Protector.

Mary was crowned on Oct. lst and Pembroke was the chief nobleman in the ceremonies. The sub-dean of the Chapel Royal and the quire of the same had a place in the procession. At the great coronation Feast in Westminster Hall the Queen sat at the High Table, accompanied only by the Lady Anne of Cleves, the Lady Elizabeth, and the Lord Bishop of Winchester, who had crowned her. After the wonderful *menu* (1) of the first course appeared a Subtlety, representing a Queen's Estate, bearing a Scroll on which were the words « Vox populi, Vox Dei ». And at the conclusion of the Feast, the gentlemen of the Royal Chapel entered and performed a play about Human-Kind and the good and bad angels, whose title we know not, but whose *cast* is preserved (2). About this play there is some thing to be said. Mary had ordered on the 17th September « for thirty-two gentlemen and yeomen of the chapel, threscore and foure surplices : for twelve children foure and twenty surplices ». This shews she intended to keep up the full number of the voices in the Chapel. On the 26th September Mary wrote to the Master of the Revels, Sir Thomas Cawarden, to find and deliver garments to the gentlemen of the Chapel for a play to be performed at the Coronation, as had been wont to be done at the Coronation of her predecessors. In Kemp's *Loseley Papers* there is a note added, « This play by reason of deferment was served the Christmas following ». I have not been able to find the reason of its being

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(1) Addit. MS. Brit. Mus. 34 320 f. 97.

(2) See my paper *Mary's Chapel Royal and the Coronation Play*, *Athenæum*, Sept. 9th 1905; also Excheq. Acc. P. R. O. Mary 427.5 (9).

postponed, nor the name of the author. It was probably Udall (1). For the same authority gives a Royal Warrant to the Master of the Revels, to give Nicholas Udall from time to time everything that he requires or may think necessary, because « he hath shewed, and mindeth hereafter to shew his diligence in setting forth Dialogues and Interludes before us ». 3 Dec. 2. Marie (2).

Whatever was the difficulty with the « invention », first proposed, Mary was not going to do without her play, and sent a new warrant to the Keeper of the Royal Wardrobe at the end of September (3) : « Marye the Queene. We will and command you further upon the sight hereof, to provide and deliver to the berer hereof, for the gentlemen of our Chappell for a play to be playde before us for the feaste of our Coronation as in times past hath been accustomed to be done by the gentlemen of the Chapell of our Progenitours, all such necessary stuff and other things as hereafter followeth :

Item, *Genus Humanum* for a gown of purple brege satten, vii yerdes.

Item, five Virgins' cassocks of white bruge satten and vii yerdes for every of them, that is to saye xxxv yerdes.

Item, Reason, Verytie, and Plentie, every of them, vii yerdes purple brege satten, xxi yerdes.

Item, Self Love, a Cassock of rede Satten of Brege, vii yerdes.

Item, Care, a cassock of grene Satten of Brege, vii yerdes.

Item, Skarsitie, a Woman's Cassock of Russett Satten of Brege, vii yerdes.

Item, Sickeness, Feebleness, Deformitie, three longe gownes, one of Tawny satten, the tother of ashe-coloured satten, the other blacke satten, for every of them viii yerdes, in all xxiv yerdes.

Item, for the Epilogge a Cassocke of Black Damaske and ix yerdes of purple Damaske for a long gowne for the same, xv yerdes.

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(1) [Über diese Frage werde ich ausführlich in meiner Ausgabe von Udall zu handeln haben. W. B.].

(2) See the *Loseley Papers*.

(3) Exchcq. Acc. P. R. O. Mary 427.5. (9).

Item, a shorte gowne of rede damaske for the Ende, vi yerdes.

Item, three short gownes of purple brege satten for the Ende, vi yerdes for every of them, xviii yerdes.

Item, the bad angell iii yerdes of Kersey, and wings for the good angel and the bad, three thromd hattes and tenn dossen of counters, and what you shall lack of the furniture thereof to provide and see them furnished, and this shalbe your warrante in this parte. Geven at our Pallace of Westminster the last of September, in the first of our reign.

Summa : of damask xxi yerdes; of Brege Satten vi score xiii yerdes, of Kersey thre yerdes ».

The garments were ordered from the Royal Wardrobe, it may be noticed, only the day before the Coronation. But it is probable that they had been made up somehow before, to be in readiness for the Royal Warrant.

I have been unable to trace these characters in any play that has come down to us. Neither have I been able to find an author. He must have been strictly limited in his composition. On August 16th the Privy Council prepared a « proclamation for reformation of busy medlers in matters of religion, and for redresse of prechers, printers, players ». This was printed and circulated on August 18th and treated of « the playing of Interludes, and printing of false fond bookes, ballettes, rhymes and other lewde treatises in the English tongue concerning matters now in Question and controversy ». No one was to play an Interlude without the Queen's licence in writing. A copy of this Proclamation is preserved by the Society of Antiquaries.

Mary settled all these preliminaries without a Parliament, but she waited for her first Parliament (1), before she touched the Statutes, or opened the more important and more delicate trials of the Lady Jane Grey (2), Lord Guildford Dudley, and Archbishop Cranmer, with whom were associated Northumberland's younger sons. They were tried on November 13th, found guilty, but simply left in the Tower with no motion for execution. Mary made no haste. Strengthening every

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(1) Summoned for 5th. October, but prorogued till 24th October, 1553.

(2) Baga de Secretis, Pouch XXIII. Public Record Office.

thought, and guiding every action, was an inspiring passion and a firm faith that it was no *chance* that had come unto her, but a mission ordained, sacred and solemn in her eyes, to rehabilitate the sainted name of her beloved mother; to restore her people from backsliding; and to reconcile her Fatherland to God and his Vicar on earth.

Her first act in Parliament (1) decreed that the marriage of her mother was good and lawfull, and that the Divorce of Archbishop Cranmer was unlawful and unjust. The Acts 25 Hen. VIII, c. 22, and 28 Hen. VIII. c. 7 were abrogated, in so far as they concerned Mary's legitimacy. But if this step commended itself to the hearts of her people, her second step caused wide-spread consternation and distress. She made void all Edward's Laws concerning religion and the marriage of priests; Divine service was to be performed as it had been in the last years of Hen. VIII; all married priests were to be expelled, and their children made illegitimate. She flinched not at the outcry. More was to follow. A true daughter of her father, she inherited his firm will; a true daughter and earnest disciple of her mother, her whole soul glowed with fervour for the Catholic Faith, in denying which, her father had so wronged her mother and herself. An act of Resumption would have impoverished many, and made enemies of more, and she was wise enough not to interfere with the lapsed temporalities of the Church. But she restored all that she possibly could from the crown lands, and straitened herself that she might be able to recall and replace at least the more earnest of the Abbots and Abbesses, Monks and Nuns to their old places. She hastened to lay down her father's hard won title of Head of the Church, in order to reconcile her Land to her spiritual Father the Pope.

In order to make her own position firm, Mary enacted the great Charter of Womanhood, which contains within itself, if rightly read, all legal privileges for lower ranks independent of sex (2). She claimed her Crown by right of inheritance, as well as by the Will of her father; she claimed it also, nothing

(1) See The Statutes at Large, 1 Mary. I. 1.
(2) 1 Mary c. III.

diminished in its lustre, because the wearer was a woman. The Kingly office and prerogative was to be the same for females as for males. « The Statute being so clear that none but the malitious and ignorant could be persuaded into this Error and Folly to deny that Her Highness could ne should have, injoye, and use, such like Royal Authority, nor doo ne execute and use *all things* concerning the Statute, [in which only the name of *King* was expressed], as any the Kings of this realm ». She protected her subjects also by a reformation in the Law of Treason, which had become much confused by the enactments in Henry's reign. Her statu e repealed all those Acts; and in the preamble explained that Government was better through love than through severity. Many noble men through words only, had of late suffered death, henceforward nothing should be called Treason except what was touched by the Statute of Ed. III. c. 5. 6. 2. Though the Queen was active and self-reliant, outwardly calm and inwardly hopeful, she was not altogether free, even then, from anxieties and doubts, as may be seen by her letter to Monsieur Douglas.

Good Douglas,

Your constant persevering in good will towards my service deserveth thanks and trust att my handes. Indeed I have bin loth to trouble you with any charge in this suspicious time, and had you bin my brother I would have you sometimes not to know all, for perticular Respects, as I would have done with you, soe also with some others in like case, if you might have license to come to me I would showe my mind to your contentment. Merry manne, you may trust as myself, but all that is said otherwise. Tarry time and you shall knowe more, but in this I use you as modestly as you desire. I make a full accompt of taking tryall of you, and as others have done more lively more truly or wiselv, he that is blowne with every blast is no meete souldier for an old Captaine. Consider my case, the time and your first handling sufficient to make me feare, and to blesse myselfe. Suspicious, I am try, but not malitious — burnt Bairne fire dreads, and more will I be for some double dealing of our Country folkes. Keepe this to yourselfe if you will have more for I can see before and behind me a greate way and wise folkes serve their turnes of every thing. Now I bid God be with you.

Your good loving mistress & friend,

Marie R.

Winkfield the 9th. Dec. (1).

Mary could sit in her own Chapel now and enjoy her masses and her music without restraint. The changes that took place

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(1) Harl MS. 39, 3.

in the parish church doubtless took place in the Chapel too. She had all little Edward's scriptural texts pulled down, and restored in their place the pictures of saints; banished his metrical Psalms and their simple music, and brought back the Hymnal and the old Antiphonals (1). It was not easy to make up a fresh choir of trained voices even by « pressing ». Mary was not inclined to be severe on any who would conform, and seems to have made it easy for the gentlemen of the Chapel to slide into her ways. They seem all to have submitted quietly to the re-imposition of the old service. Some indeed, in whom musical taste predominated, might have preferred the muscular and mental exercise of « curious » music, and the aesthetic enjoyment of harmonious « parts ».

Secured in his « living » at Westminster by a timely submission in externals at least, William Hunnis, like many others, accepted what seemed to be the inevitable, and swore the oath of allegiance to the new Sovereign, and the old creed. He probably appeared in the Coronation interlude and at Christmas he doubtless was one of the performers in the play before the Queen, either that of *Respublica*, which is said to have been acted before the Queen in I. Mary 1553, or the other one, even more interesting, which will be later mentioned.

Heywood and Udall were the chief interlude writers of the reign, the founders of the early Drama, but Hunnis may be considered as a student and successor.

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(1) See The Churchwarden's accounts of St. Margaret's, Westminster.

CHAPTER IV.

CONSPIRACIES.

Hardly had Mary seated herself securely upon the throne, than the question of her marriage arose. The general wish was, that she should marry Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire. It has been said that he would not have her, preferring Elizabeth, but it is not likely that Mary herself ever thought of the youth. There were Catholic rumours that the Pope was ready to grant a dispensation to her cousin Cardinal Pole to marry her, but that came to nothing. Feeling that she should strengthen her position by a powerful match, she took council of the Emperor, who had always befriended her. He gladly welcomed as a daughter-in-law a Queen, whom he himself had practically cast off, when degraded from the Princedom of Wales. He showed her that there was no other who could present so many political and religious advantages as Philip, his son. Related to her mother, friendly with herself, there was no past bitterness to cast a shadow on domestic amity. Their enthusiasm for religion was the same; and the Pope was eager to grant a dispensation, though they were in the second and third degree of consanguinity. The ten unfortunate years of difference in their age should have been on the other side. But great crowned heads have too limited a selection, to allow the question of age to outweigh all other considerations. Mary thought every other consideration was in favour of Philip. Unfortunately she judged rather as a daughter of her mother, and a child of the Holy Church, than as a daughter of England, and the English never forgave her. The secret articles for her marriage were however signed by all the Council, Dec. 1553 (1). Her father's will had decreed that she was to marry by the consent of her Council, or at least of the majority. But the

(1) *S. P. D. S.* Mary I. 20.

Council had been steadily thinned during the ten years that had passed since the wording of the will (1). It is said that a handsome present was necessary to modify the views of the Earl of Pembroke. There is no record of the transaction; but we know from the Spanish State papers (2), that he was in receipt of an annuity from Philip in later years. She had to dismiss one Parliament and bribe another, before the bill of the royal mariage could be considered. On the second of January 1553-4, the Spanish Envoy landed. He was met at the wharf by Sir Anthony Browne, and at Tower Hill, by the Earl of Devonshire (as representative of the Queen's relatives) who went with him to Westminster, and finally arranged the marriage settlement. « Philip was to be jointly styled King (3), and to aid his wife in happy administration... She was to grant all benefices to English-born subjects, and to try all cases by English law. Her children, as well males as females, should succeed to her dominions. Philip's son, Lord Charles of Austria and Infant of Spain, should succeed to the Spanish dominions, to be followed by his heirs, as well females as males. But if he died, the eldest son of this matrimony should succeed. If she had only female children, the eldest should have full right to succeed in Lower Germany, Spain and all its appanages. Philip was not to involve England in his continental wars nor to draw from it either treasure or troops ». On the 14th of January, the marriage was published by the Bishop of Winchester, and heavily taken of sundry men.

In the first burst of indignation, and with a wild hope of somehow, even yet, preventing the unwelcome Spanish alliance, men stirred all over the country. Sir Peter and Gawain Carew in the West, professing loyalty to the Queen, threatened that they would not allow Philip to land; Sir Thomas Wyat and others in Kent, declared they could not have a Spanish king (4). The Queen instructed Sir Thomas Cornwallis

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(1) Somerset and Northumberland executed, Cranmer in the Tower.

(2) See also the letter of Count de Feria to Philip, 21th Nov. 1558.

(3) See Holinshed III. 1118. The Statutes of the Realm, 1. Mary c. III. *State Papers, Foreign Series,* Mary I. 179. Stows *Annals.* 618.

(4) *The Chronicle of Queen Jane and Queen Mary.* Camden Soc. Publ. Underhill's account of the marriage (Harl. MS. 425 ff. 94-97).

and Sir Edward Hastings to repair to Wyat, and to declare to him the motives of her marriage with Philip, and offered even to appoint a private conference. But the enthusiastic Kentishman would listen to nothing. « It was only the marriage he objected to ». They said he would be heard. He said he would only trust them if they gave him the custody of the Tower, of Her Grace in the Tower, and the right to remove some of the Councillors from her. To this they would not listen (1). Anthony Norton (2), who had been sent for by Wyat the Monday before the trouble began, deposed that Wyat had said to him, « I am sure you have heard of ye comynge of ye Kinge of Spayne who shall be our Kynge, to the undoing of this realm; for at the spryng of ye yer, suche gentylmen as I, with other, shall be sent into Franse with a gret powre of Ingelyshmen to inlarge his Kuntry ther; and in ye mene tyme, unther pretense of fryndshyppe he shall strenkthen ye reme with hys owne nasyon to ye subvertynge of owre owne nasyon and losse of thys reame » &c. « Only to withstand strangers » was his cry. « The Queen determined to continue her merciful sufferance, and other her gentle means so long as she might ». But at last she was roused to action. She commanded Sir Thomas Cawarden to prepare himself, his servants and tenants, to march at an hour's notice against the rebels (3), and she gave similar orders to others. Wyat thought a large majority of the people would be of his way of thinking, and he assembled his men at Brentford and marched to the Metropolis on February 7th feeling sure of a welcome there. But he was not prompt enough. The passage of London Bridge was barred and he had to march to Kingston upon Thames, to cross the river and double back to Westminster. The Londoners prepared for a fray. The very Justices, serjeants and lawyers pled in their coats of mail (4), uncertain perhaps which side they would take, but certain they would have to fight on one side or the other. Gardiner urged Mary to fly. At first she refused absolutely, and then agreed to be guided by Pembroke. The deci-

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(1) John Proctor's *History of Wyat's Rebellion*. 2nd Ed.
(2) *S. P. D. S.* Mary II, 47. *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol. III, p. 181.
(3) *Loseley MS.*
(4) Stow's *Chronicle* 619,

sion in this crisis once more lay with the Earl. He knew that he held the destinies of England in his hand. He did waver. But the Queen trusted him. His loyalty to the throne prevailed. He decided on supporting her with his life (1). A popular leader, as well as an astute councillor, he had only to shew himself in earnest as Mary's Lieutenant-General, to be able to crush the rebellion. The ill-managed rising of Wyat was a national disaster, Mary's advisers pointed to it as a lesson of the dangers of clemency such as hers. Against her will and her nature, she was forced to become severe. The chief insurgent did not suffer alone. The Duke of Suffolk had broken faith with her, co-operated with Wyat, made a proclamation against the Royal Marriage. By so doing he sealed, not only his own fate, but that of his daughter. On the 12th February, the Lady Jane, and her husband Lord Guildford Dudley (2) were beheaded on Tower Hill. On the 13th, Wyat (3) and his accomplices were arraigned, and condemned on the 15th. On the 17th, Henry, Duke of Suffolk (4) was tried, found guilty, and beheaded on the 23rd. On the 25th Sir John Bourne (5) and others laboured in the Tower to make Wyat confess some association with the Lady Elizabeth and her servant Mr. William St. Loo, but in vain. But he did declare that Sir James Crofts knew more of the matter.

Mary was going to marry whom she pleased, and the betrothal duly took place on the 6th of March, Philip being represented by Count Egmont. On the 16th of that month, 1553-4, the Lady Elizabeth was commanded to the Tower (6), protesting her innocence of Wyat's plot. On the 17th of April

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(1) *S. P. D. S.* Mary II. 47.

(2) « The Lord Guildford Dudley, on the 12th February went to the scaffold, who at his going, took by the hand Sir Anthony Browne, Master John Throgmorton & others, praying them to pray for him » (*Chronicle of Queen Jane & Queen Mary*. Camden Soc. Publ.).

(3) Baga de Secretis. Pouch XXVI. Also *S. P. D. S.* Mary II. 19. Holinshed's *Chronicle* p. 1095. *Archaeologia* XXIII. 29.

(4) Baga de Secretis. Pouch XXVIII.

(5) *S. P. D. S.* Mary III 34.

(6) *S. P. D. S.* Mary IV. 2. John Aylmer said that Elizabeth was kept in the Tower, not like a king's daughter or a Queen's sister. « What assemblies and councils, what examinations and wracking poor men, were there to find the knife that should cut her throat. » « Harborowe of the faithful », in reply to John Knox's « Monstrous regiment of women ».

and following days, Sir James Crofts (1), Sir Peter Carew, and Sir Nicholas Throgmorton were tried for plotting with Wyat. The first two were found guilty, but Throgmorton defended himself so ably, that the jury found him « not guilty », upon which finding the jury were themselves sent to prison, and Throgmorton was kept in the Tower for a year, and then, being released, he had to escape over the sea as speedily as he might. Associated in his indictment were Sir William Pickeryng, Sir Edmund Warner, Sir Edward Rogers, Sir Nicholas Arnold, and others. These were afterwards let off with fines.

Bishop Gardiner tried to make the Queen believe that he was in danger of being arrested by Pembroke and Paget, and offered to find twelve noblemen who would stand by her if she would imprison them. But she would not hear of *that*. They had made themselves far too valuable to her, to be interfered with, even for a priest. Fortune favoured Pembroke at every turn. And thus, in the grotesque combinations of the time, it was the man who had stood forth staunchest in Protestantism, and who had acquired the largest share of the Church's lands, who went forth as the representative of English Catholicism to meet the Marquis de las Navas, the Spanish Envoy on 1st June. He entertained him nobly at Wilton House (2), once the famous *Abbey*, and it was Pembroke who afterwards met Philip himself on his arrival. He was one of the four Councillors who, in the name of England « gave the Bride away » at her marriage on July 25th, to the unwelcome Spaniard. As soon as the hand of Mary was given to Philip, Pembroke advanced, and bore the Sword of State, symbol of sovereignty, before the Bridegroom. Then all the people present shouted, it is said, but outside there were cold rejoicings, and ominous mutterings.

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(1) *S. P. D. S.* Addenda, Mary VII.

Baga de secretis Pouch XXIX, 17th and 28th April.

Collection of State Trials. Holinshed. The Metrical life of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, written, I believe, by Edmund Neville, titular Earl of Westmoreland. Harl MS. 6353.

(2) See Venetian State Papers, V. 544. Soranzo to the Senate. He said that « Pembroke had a thousand gentlemen in his livery, & was the chief nobleman of England ». It is said that the Venetian ambassador was deeply engaged as well as Noailles the French ambassador, with furthering Wyat's plot.

Soranzo was superseded by Giovanni Michiel in 1554.

On Saturday 18th August, the Queen returned to Westminster with her new made king (1), who honestly tried at first to make himself popular. But the people had made up their minds not to like him, and jealously looked on all his actions. It is a hard matter to propitiate a proud and prejudiced people of a different race and speech. The crowds of returning prelates, the troops of haughty Spaniards, were looked at with jealous eyes. Men did not forgive the treatment of Elizabeth, whose name had been bandied about at the trials. Gardiner urged her instant execution as the only safe course. It was difficult for Mary to believe her quite innocent, and she would not have feigned to have done so, but for Philip's interposition.

A small section of the people were content with the state of affairs. Sundry young clerics vented their orthodox and imaginative feeling in verses, not high in poetic merit, but useful as giving us knowledge of the attitude of the loyalists. Among these were the young priests Forrest (2), Leonard Stopes (3), and others whose verses are preserved by the Society of Antiquaries and another, printed anonymously by William Ryddael, is preserved in the British Museum, among the manuscripts. One of its curious verses runs

> « Our doubts be dissolved, our Fancies contented
> The marriage is joyful that many lamented
> And such as envyed like fools have repented
> The errours and terrours that they have invented » (4).

But these do not represent the general feeling at all.

After the marriage, Cardinal Reginald Pole (who had been restored in blood, after his supposed treason under Hen. VIII), was allowed to return. The influence of the Emperor and his son with the Pope, had kept him back, as he was known to be against the marriage. He said himself I have been kept knocking at the door for a year. When he did come back, he

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(1) Robert Howes, Almanack. Harl. MS. 4102. f. 296.

(2) « Chaplain to Queen Mary, a skilful musician, author of the New Ballad of the Marigold ». See Warton ; and *Harl. Misc*, X. 253.

(3) One of the first four scholars and fellows of St. John's College, Oxford, mentioned by Ames, and the *Dictionary of National Biography*. His verses were published by Lant, and were reprinted in the *Antiquary* Nov. 1892.

(4) John Heywood's flattering Ballad on Mary. See *Harleian Miscellany*, X.

came not only as a Cardinal, but as the Pope's Legate to receive back the land to its spiritual father. On the 28th November the English Church was reconciled to the Pope, and as the Clerk of the House of Commons has it : « On Friday the last day of November, the Lord Legate gave absolution to the whole Realm, and likened it to the return of the Lost Sheep » (1). Sir Ralph Bagnall was the only member who dissented from the passing of the Act of Restoration on 22nd Jan. 1554-5 (2). Cardinal Pole was chosen to be made Archbishop of Canterbury in place of Cranmer, but he was an Englishman, a learned man, and a relative of the Queen. The people forgave that step. But they did not forgive their Queen, when, urged by Gardiner on the one hand, and influenced by Philip's views on the other, her natural mercy and clemency gave way, and she left in the hands of Churchmen the fate of heretics.

The first to suffer, just a year after Wyat's rising, was John Rogers, Prebendary of St. Pauls, Vicar of St. Sepulchre's, Editor and part translator of « Matthew's Bible ». On the 4th Feb. 1554-5 he was burnt at Smithfield, and on the 8th, Rowland Taylor suffered the same fate at Aldham Common. Fire after fire was kindled to consume heretics and their books, but the smoke seemed only to spread heresy and discontent. Was the Spanish religion to be spread among Englishmen by Spanish methods ? Was their enfranchised Church to be dragged back into foreign thraldom ? Many rejoiced at the death of Gardiner on Nov. 12th 1555, less than a month after he had burned Ridley and Latimer at Oxford (Oct. 16th). Most Englishmen had learned to dislike Philip personally, except the few to whom he chose to render himself agreeable, chief among whom was the Earl of Pembroke (3). An ever-increasing proportion of her subjects murmured directly against the Queen. Through her very feminine virtues she kindled their wrath. Her submissiveness to her husband, and to her Church,

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(1) Journal of the 3rd. Parliament, held 1 and 2 Philip and Mary.
(2) Rymer's *Fœdera*.
(3) He was taken abroad by Philip in Sept. 1555, made governor of all the English possessions over the Channel, and presented to the Emperor.

made her see with other than English eyes. For a time the prospect of a royal heir kept the people, Catholics and Protestants alike, anxiously expectant (1). Their disappointment happened in the manner most galling to the national temper, and they were indignant at their Queen for their humiliation before Europe. Her own bitter mortification, Philip's departure in Sept. 1555, his long absence, the continued inclemency of the weather, the agricultural distress, the open discontent of her people, preyed upon her spirits. The depressing events of her life, the asceticism of her religion, the unhygienic conditions of her times, the unsatisfied yearnings of her affectionate heart, developed her constitutional weakness. She aged rapidly. She was accounted an « old woman » at an age at which her sister Elizabeth frolicked as a nymph with juvenile enjoyment, and listened credulously to the vows of romantic admirers and of youthful suitors.

The people began to dwell on the fact that their Queen by birth was half a Spaniard, and by sympathy seemed to have made up the other half. Mary loved, or thought she loved Philip, and did what she could to please him, though at the cost of the affections of her English subjects. For the first time Englishmen began to doubt the permanent beauty and virtue of the doctrine of wifely obedience. It did not mend matters in their eyes, that their Spanish king should neglect his wife, their Harry's daughter, and their regnant Queen. They writhed as they saw Philip, made more powerful by the proposed retirement of his father, commence to treat England as a mere appanage of the Spanish empire, ignore the marriage articles, and continue to draw both troops and money from the country to carry on his continental wars. Even religious differences paled before patriotic fervour, and discontented men began to consider how they could regain England for the English. The difficulty of finding money harassed Mary. Men whom she had pardoned, she afterwards fined heavily; Sir George Harper, Sir Nicholas Arnold, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, Sir William Sentlow, John Harrington, Edmund Tremaine, Sir

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(1) Mary made her will, while expecting the event.
See Terminal note.

Andrew Dudley (1), Sir James Croftes, Cuthbert Vaughan and others, afterwards to be noticed. She increased the subsidies, and demanded forced loans. She wished to confiscate the property of those who had gone abroad without licence. Parliament refused. Stormy scenes were enacted in the House. Sir Anthony Kingston took the keys from the sergeant, locked the door, and held the Speaker down in the chair, while he had a vote passed by acclamation, censuring the action of the Government. « Sir Anthony Kingston, upon contemptuous (2) behaviour and great disorder by him lately committed in Parliament House, was this day committed to the Tower » 10th Dec. 1555. He was examined on the 23rd and 24th December and « after having duly acknowledged his error, the Queen of her clemency released him on Christmas Eve, believing him to be a faithful vassal (3) and servant ». But his heart had turned hot against her through her policy.

On Jan. 16th, 1555-6, the Emperor resigned much of his dominion to Philip, but not as yet his whole Empire. He had heard that his son was too fond of masquing and such like frivolities for an Emperor. On the 3rd of February, 1555-6, a five years truce with France had been drawn up, but it was not signed. The delay had much effect on English affairs. Philip kept promising « he would return to England, to comply with the wishes of his consort, who being naturally passionate might become enraged, and also to please the Emperor » (4). On 5th February the Venetian Ambassador writes that « the

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(1) Sir Andrew Dudley was brother of the Duke of Northumberland, Knight of the Garter. He held the office of Keeper of the Palace of Westminster and of the Mansions called Purgatory, Hell, and Paradise. Rymer's *Fœdera* Vol. 15, p. 233, 17th. May 1550.

(2) See Register of Privy Council. Also letters of the Venetian Ambassador to the Doge and the Parliamentary journal of same date.

(3) Kingston had been a favourite of Hen. VIII. Among the Privy Purse MS. expenses of Hen. VIII, is mentioned June 28th 21 Hen. VIII « To Anthony Kingston for 8 shots of 3 angells the shot, which he wanne of Thomas Cary shotting on the King's side, or £ 8. To Anthony Kingston for 4 bettes wanne of the King at shotting at three angels each, £ 4 ».

He and Carew had been the challengers at Edward's Coronation jousts. He had now joined the national party in Parliament and went with the hot-headed young members to discuss affairs at Arundell's, a house of entertainment in the neighbourhood (See Smith's *Antiquities of Westminster*).

(4) See Letters of the Venetian Ambassador to the Doge.

Queen makes a forced loan from the Merchant Adventurers of £ 100,000; and taxation proceeds with severity ».

Meanwhile rumours of plots filled the air, realities of plots concerned the Council. They suspected every man who had been concerned with Wyat, or had shown any discontent. From the debris of many minor upheavals, the second great plot of Mary's reign was pieced together. Its importance has been belittled by most historians, and yet the State Papers show how wide-spread were its ramifications. But for the prompt and secret action of the Privy Council, the country would doubtless have risen in response to the first appeal of the conspirators.

With this plot William Hunnis was strangely connected, and amid the revelations wrung from the conspirators, we glean the main outlines of his life under Mary. He had still performed his chapel duties, though he had leisure enough to get into mischief. He was intimate with some important men of his time, the chief perhaps being Nicholas Brigham, then building Chaucer's tomb in Westminster Abbey, a poet himself, a politician, author of several books, mentioned by Bale, which have not come down to us (1). He was one of the four Tellers of the Exchequer at Westminster (2), and was noted for his strict probity. In 1552 had been born to him little Rachel, the delight of his eyes, and the joy of his heart. No doubt the child would also be an attraction to her father's and mother's friends, Hunnis among them, and would partly account for frequent visits, afterwards misconstrued by slanderous tongues.

Another of Hunnis' friends was a « Mr. Rogers », possibly « Mr. Rogers of the Court » but more likely Mr. Rogers, the Protomartyr. Possibly Hunnis was among the crowd that

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(1) Had we had but one copy left of his « Diary » or of his notes, we should probably have known more than we do of the life and associates of William Hunnis. Had we but had a copy of his poems, some Chaucerian puzzles might have been explained.

(2) « The Treasuries and records were contained in 1st, The Court of Receipt, 2nd In the Palace, Westminster, 3rd, In the Old Chapter House, Westminster, 4th, In the Cloyster of the Abbey of Westminster. The first three were locked with 3 keys, the latter with 5 ». Lansdowne MS. 171 (358) (191).

greeted him as he went to the stake, and sympathized with his poor wife and eleven children, made not only fatherless, but illegitimate by the Queen's decree. This martyrdom must have come very near to the gentleman of the Chapel (1), and he must have sometimes felt anxious lest his half-hearted submission should become insufficient for the Church dignitaries that looked so critically into men's thoughts. They were anxious to stamp out recusancy even in spirit and reputation, and where should they begin to sweep clean, sooner than in the Royal Chapel? They would not forget that Hunnis had been among those that had written, as well as sung, the Metrical Psalms, the music of which had brought Marbeck into trouble. He had secular troubles of his own too. He had been to Ireland, possibly in his « playing weeks », possibly in his old times under the Earl of Pembroke. But by this time at least « certain sutes there placed him in many men's dangers (2) ». He was evidently being prepared by circumstances to yield to temptation, and the manner of his drifting into it, reveals much of his character, circumstances and social environment. The plot of 1555-6, was a wide and national movement, comparatively calm and prudent, practicable too, and with a reasonable prospect of success. It had many capable members, it only wanted one strong head. If the Earl of Pembroke had moved in it, there is no doubt that its aims would have become accomplished facts. His name was queried by one of the conspirators as a possible leader. It is not clear when the plot was first initiated, but it was at the time that the coronation of Philip was discussed. « The first intercourse between Dudley, Ashton, and Bethell, was at Fyfield in Berks, at Mr. Ashton's house, where the host spoke of the misfortune it would be to the country to have the Spanish King crowned of England ». There were four chief branches of the main plot, each attended to by members having little communication with each other, but a sublime confidence that they would all work together for their country, and that, when the time came, the people would rise and help them.

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(1) It is quite possible that this martyrdom was the stimulating cause of the plan to kill the King and Queen at the Juego de Canas, Feb. 7 th, 1554-5.
(2) *S. P. D. S.* Mary VII. 54.

The chief idea was to banish the Spaniard, and to get back England for the English. To do this effectually they must seize the opportunity of Philip's absence. They meant to secure the Queen, and send her abroad to her Spanish husband. Thereafter they meant to crown in her place, her sister Elizabeth, first having married her to the popular favourite, the Earl of Devonshire. They believed they could find a legal support for this action, in a clause of Henry's will, in which he arranged that if Mary should marry against the wishes of her Council and her people, or should change the established religion of the land, that the crown should go to her sister.

But in order to escape detection and destruction at the outset, they required a base of operations outside the kingdom. They found this over the Channel. France was their ancient enemy, it is true, but a France across the sea was not so exasperating as a Spain within the Court. The first thing therefore to do, was to get leaders over to France to organize among the refugees on the continent, an English invasion of England. It was a difficult business, for it was illegal to leave the country without a licence, and the ports were closely watched. Nevertheless several gentlemen managed to escape, chief among whom was Henry Dudley. He has been supposed by some to have been a son or nephew of the Duke of Northumberland, a natural idea, seeing there were two sons of the Duke called Henry, and one son of Sir Andrew Dudley. But he was in reality a scion of the ancient stock of Sutton de Dudley (from a younger branch of which Northumberland boasted that he had sprung), one of the lavish improvident Dudleys, whom Northumberland had ousted, buying the burdened estate from Baron John (1), son of Edward, who afterwards was called *Lord Quondam*. He was the father of Edward, George and this Henry. Edward Sutton, Lord Dudley, had an office at Court; Henry Dudley his younger brother had had an annuity of £ 80 granted him (2). But that was not

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(1) He married Cecily daughter of Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset. His eldest son Edward, married, 1st Catherine, daughter of Sir John Bridges, Lord Chandos, Lady in Waiting to the Queen, 2nd Jane, daughter of Lord Derby, 3rd Mary, daughter of William, Lord Howard of Effingham.

(2) Patent Books. 6th May. 1. Mary VIII f. 39.

See also Cotton MS. Titus B. II « Dudley's Treasons ».

Addit. MS. 684. « Harry Dudley ».

enough for his expensive tastes. It was easy for such a one as he to give a natural colour to his escape, by stating that he had been outlawed for debt. He found friends to shelter him, clothe him, and send him over to the French King, by whom he was received with signal favour. He was pensioned, and allowed to pension others, and to form a troop of Englishmen among the refugees, chief of whom were the Ashtons. The French king had given them a vague promise of help, that somehow became construed, in the minds of the eager conspirators, into a gift of £ 100,000. He was also to give them horses and ammunition, and lend them ships. Through the good offices of the ambassador who had been in England during the previous reign, the conspirators had received permission to coin bullion at Dieppe, on condition that they did not strike French coins. Dethick seems to have been specially interested in this department. None of the conspirators seem to have suspected the good faith of France. They thought their common animosity to Spain made their alliance secure. They did not know of the truce that was only waiting for the signature of Philip. They did not realise that the King of France could not really help forward any rising likely to place the English Elizabeth on the throne, while his interest was bound up in that of the Scottish Mary.

Uvedale (1) of Southampton, Captain of Yarmouth Castle in the Isle of Wight, was to give the conspirators information which should ensure them a safe landing in England, to spike the fort guns if necessary, and to help them when they arrived. The Carews in the west country were to keep the sea there, so that no Spaniard should land, in which duty they were aided on the one hand, and seriously prejudiced on the other, by the cooperation of the Killigrews, the Tremaynes and others. These, in a French vessel, took a port in the Scilly islands, and there lay in wait for Spanish merchantmen. Their privateering exploits brought them all into trouble later. The Carews, however, were in touch with more law-abiding fellow patriots, and they expected a general rising of all the gentlemen of the west.

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(1) Letters Patent of Richard Uvedale, Armiger, Custodian of the Castle of Hailesworth in the County of Southampton. 10th May, 38 Henry VIII.

The curious history of John Bethell is revealed in the State papers, and his engrossing interest in the plot. He is described as a clothier with one eye, but he seems to have been of a combative as well as a mercantile tendency and he acted in co-operation with his brother. On the 22nd September 1555, the Privy Council had granted leave to Sir Edmund Rouse, late Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, John Parker Esq., Master of the Rolls, *Richard Bethell,* Thomas Kente, William Pyers, William Crofton and Edward Larkin to go and fish in the Ban in Ireland. « Leave was given to them and any of their factors or servants to pass out of any of their Majesty's ports, with ships, hoys or other vessels, their Armore, weapons, ordnance and other munitions for defence, and victuals, and they may take any ground at discretion in the north part of her Majesty's realmes and make strong and fortifie and keepe and defende it, to protect their Majesties against any rebelles or enemies of the realme of Ireland, seeing that by this coulore they meddle not with any good subject, that liveth under the obedience of her majesties lawes ». They were to have some of her majesty's stores and ordnance, to be redelivered three months after, if it were required for the Queen's use. They were requested to apprehend by force and violence Cole, and other pirates of his company, and they were to have all forfeitures that justly accrued (1). Now it is evident that *Richard Bethell*, was intended for *John Bethell*; or that *John* was acting as agent for his brother as one of these patentees. Because the circumstances are frequently alluded to in the confessions. He therefore was openly preparing a vessel in the Spring of 1555-6, with probably secret and complex intentions. He might have meant to land certain men in France and collect others along the coasts. He was clear on one point, that he should « let no strangers land ».

In spite of the self-sacrificing liberality of many of the conspirators in the matter of money, and in spite of their hopes

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(1) See Reg. of Privy Council 22nd Sept. 1555. It may be noteworthy that on 3rd. April 1556, after the conspiracy was discovered, the Council again licenced William Piers and Thomas Kent and their associates to fish the Ban in Ireland.

from France, it was evident, that to act promptly and do greatly, a large sum would be needed at once. This was not to be had by ordinary means. But in Mary's Exchequer at Westminster there was lying £ 50,000 wrung from (1) the English people, ready to be sent over to Philip for his Spanish wars. This was clearly illegal, and against the special provisos of the marriage settlement. Therefore to the minds of the conspirators, it seemed but a simple act of justice to take the money of the English people from the Spanish interloper and to spend it in defence of English liberties. John Throgmorton, who was the brain centre of the metropolitan branch, was specially concerned in the plan for the transfer of this treasure. When safely secured by the aid of Rosey, Keeper of the Star Chamber, and Thomas Whyte, messenger of the Exchequer, he meant to have sent it to France, possibly to the temporary mint at Dieppe. He had secured a « Crayer » or rough boat, to take it over, and had bribed the Searcher of Gravesend to let it pass (2). This John Throgmorton (3) must not be confused with another of the same name, afterwards Master of Requests and Judge, son of Sir George Throgmorton of Coughton.

It was apparently Sir Anthony Kingston who suggested that Mary reigned by a misreading of her father's will, and that people would understand this, if they could only see a copy. One day he had a conversation with Harry Peckham, son of Sir Edmund Peckham, High Treasurer of all the Mints, about the western plot to « send the Queen's Highness over to the King ». He said that « the laws of the realm would bear it », and asked Harry to « look to King Henry's will, for there is matter sufficient for our purpose ». Peckham did not at first agree, grumbling about the possible loss of his estate, but Kingston said it would all be made up to him again, as « the

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(1) « Queen's Loan. Queen Mary had of this city £ 66,000 of which this company paid £ 7555. 19. 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ » (Remembrance. Minute Books of the Grocer's Company. 2 & 3 Phil. & Mary, f. 217).

(2) *S. P. D. S.* Mary VII.

(3) One John Throgmorton had a grant of £ 20 a year for services rendered at Framlingham in Suffolk, 1st. Nov. I Mary. He might be the conspirator. But there is another grant on 27th. Aug. 3 & 4 Phil. & Mary, to a John Throgmorton of Cowthelmon, Suffolk, of same annuity for same service.

Lady Elizabeth is a goodly liberall dame, and nothing so unthankfull as her sister is. For thou hast served the unthankfullest mistress upon the earth, and all she has done has been against her father and her brother and our sweet Lady Elizabeth (1) ». It is probable that Sir Edmund Peckham then had charge of « the Royal Will ». He was one of the assistant Council selected by Henry, and was held in high esteem by Mary. Royal papers were generally kept along with the treasures of the realm (2). At least it is proved that erelong his son made a copy of the will, and unluckily for himself, signed his name to it (3).

And William Hunnis, the literary gentleman of the Chapel Royal, was somehow connected with all these separate enterprises. Three weeks after Christmas 1555, the plot had taken shape, and at a meeting of the Conspirators, John Dethick of Westminster (4) proposed to make privy to their enterprise « one Hunnys, a very handsome man ». Thomas Whyte, he who afterwards betrayed them, doubted the wisdom of « letting another intermeddle for fear of disclosures ». But Dethick bore witness that there was no need to doubt this man, for *before* at the Juego de Canas or Barrières, he had been *appointed,* with Allday, Cornwall, and others to the number of twelve, to kill the King, and after him the Queen (5) ». And being asked why this plan had not gone forward, he said that « a cautious consideration of the risks run by themselves, put the conspirators out of stomach for the enterprise (6) ». The considerations

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(1) *S. P. D. S.* Mary VII 37.

(2) « A collection of Records in the four Treasuries at Westminster, in the Office for Records in the Tower, and in the King's Remembrancia Office ». Harl. MS. 94. (48).

(3) *S. P. D. S.* Mary VII 36.

This Henry Peckham had received an annuity of £ 6. 13. 4, for helping at Framlingham. 1st Nov. 1 Mary. (Auditors Patent Books).

« Nov. 6th 1547 Henry Peckham and Elizabeth Dakers, Gent ». (Marriage Licences, Faculty Office).

(4) *S. P. D. S.* Mary VII.

(5) Probably in the first heat of wrath at the reconciliation of the land to the Pope, and at the burning of Rogers.

(6) There are two accounts of suitable festivities. Stow says « The VII of February the Lord Strange being married at Court, the same day at night was a goodly pastime of Juego Canas by Cresset light ». Machyn tells us, « The VII day of February was my Lord Strange mared to the Lady of Cumber-

are very much in the tone of Hunnis's later remarks, and were probably broached by him. We know Alday regretted it had not gone on. This crude and subordinate plot, which seems entirely to have escaped discovery at the time, had been probably devised by a few rash spirits without any very widespread communications. We cannot but wonder *who appointed the twelve*. It was different now, the ramifications were wide.

Hunnis was persuaded by Dethick to use his chemical talents in coining, by going over to help in the mint at Dieppe. He required a night or two to consider the proposal. He knew that going abroad unlicensed, was in itself treason. He knew that coining was treason, except when the Earl of Pembroke did it. The caution of his character, and the humour of his talk, are well displayed in his conversations with Dethick which are given in extenso in the next chapter.

Hunnis was also invited by Bethel to « go a-fishing in the western seas, and « keep that no stranger shall land ». He agreed to go by mid-April, though he would have preferred to « go a piracying ». He was also associated with Throgmorton in his design on the Treasury. He was to forge a key to open the strong box through his skill in metals. The opportunity of doing so, was to come through his intimacy with the Brighams. « There was a message by word of mouth to Hunnys about the will » probably assuring him that it proved that « the Lady Mary usurpeth the Crown », and justified the conspiracy.

Occasional scares they had, these conspirators, especially on 14th February when Ryvet's letter to Bigot was found, and Bigot was committed to the Tower on 16th February, while the Sheriff of the County was ordered to arrest Ryvet, who was examined on the 22nd. They were also alarmed when

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land, the yerle of Cumberland's dochter, and after a great dener and justes, and after Tornay on horseback with swordes and after soper Jube le Canas, a play with torch lights, 60 cressets & 100 torches & a maske & a Bankett ». The Juego de Canas, tilting with Canes, was a Moorish pastime introduced by Spaniards.

The Earl of Hertford on his embassy to Brussels, Nov. 7 1544, wrote the King that the Count de Feria had made a gallant shew of Juego de Canas. Un-calendered MS. Henry VIII. $\frac{AA}{753}$.

Ashton's servants were apprehended, and hardly breathed until they were satisfied they had been arrested on a charge totally unconnected with the plot (1). And all this time they trusted Thomas Whyte.

About the seventh of March a comet blazed out on the midnight sky (2). Some believed that it portended the death of Mary, others the foreign wars of Philip. All gazed and wondered, and many trembled. The conspirators took it as a good omen. The French encouragement, the copy of the will, the success of their early plans, made them read into the Comet a presage of the downfal of the Spaniard. But on the 8th of March, the truce between France and Spain was proclaimed. The conspirators did not at first see the bearing this had on their affairs.

On the 12th of March, as they walked within the Palace at Westminster, Dethick told Hunnis about Lord Courtenay (3), then at Venice, whom he asserted to have sold some of his property for their benefit. Then came a series of secret meetings of Throgmorton, Rosey, Dethick, Bethell, Whyte, Hunnis and Harry Peckham, concerning the Treasure. They even gained admittance to the Treasury, found the box too heavy, to be moved without noise and resolved to take the treasure out and carry it in separate packages through Rosey's garden to the crayer floating on the Thames.

They wove their fate blindly. The Council had heard of the plot a month before, and were watching them as cats watch mice. They had even had the Treasure secretly removed from Westminster, and were only waiting the ripeness of time to seize the men. These took their final oath of fidelity to each other on the 16th of March. The very next day twenty of them were lodged in the Tower.

I know that Mr Froude, and the Editor of the Verney Papers, basing their statement on the printed edition of *Machyn's*

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(1) Register of the Privy Council. Feb. 15th 1555-6. It is curious that these are the only arrests and examinations noticed in the Privy Council Acts and Registers.

(2) Mentioned in all Histories & Astrologies.

(3) He had been released on Mary's accession, imprisoned again for Wyat's rising, and exiled at Easter, 1555.

Diary, speak of the date as the 18th of March. The Manuscript of Machyn's Diary is so much burnt round the edges, that no date is preserved at all. Strype, who had seen it before it was damaged, supports the 18th, as the date, though the passage is evidently dubious. It is probable that they were arrested during the night, and Machyn would not hear of it till the morning. But the letters of the Venetian Ambassador, to which we are so much indebted for remarks upon the plot, fixes it as the 17th (1). The comparison of the dates given in the various examinations also gives the 17th as the reckoning. And I have been fortunate enough to discover an unimpeachable authority in support of this. The Records of the Tower for this period are lost, but I happened to find among the miscellanea of the Queen's Remembrancia a stray sheet, which records the charges of the board of the prisoners, and dates the group that were first seized from the 17th March (2). Machyn gives several of the names. « Divers gentlemen were carried to the Tower, John Throgmorton, Hare Peckham, Master Bethell, Master Torner, Master Hygins, Master Daneel, Master Smith, Marchand, Master *Heneges* of the Chapel (3), the Scherche of Grafsend, Master Hogys, Master Spenser, and 2 Rawlins, and Rosey, Keeper of the Star Chamber, and Master Dethycke, and divers odur gentlemen that I have not their names ».

Bedingfield's account of the prisoners' board states :

« Item, of John Danyell CX^{s} and Henry Peckham gent, VI^{s} VIII^{d}, prysoners in part payment of their dyet CXVI^{s} VIII^{d} ».

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(1) On the 17th Michael Throgmorton wrote to the Earl of Devonshire that matters of religion go coldly in England though 7 heretics have been burnt. *S. P. D. S.* Mary VII. 28. He evidently knew nothing about it then.

(2) Q. R. M. 924. 17. 2. & 3. Phil. & Mary. P. R. O.

(3) Mr Froude takes for granted that the 8th name is « Thomas Heneage of the Chapel » ; though, had he referred to any list of the Chapel members he would have found none of that name. Thomas Heneage, afterwards Master of the Household to Elizabeth, was in a very different post at the time. Any study of the State Papers shows that the only gentleman of the Chapel then arrested was William Hunnis, though on one occasion, he was by error styled Thomas.

Analogies in Machyn's pronunciation shew that the « g » may naturally be pronounced as « y ».

« Demandes for payments. Dyet of prysoners atteynted, Item for the dyett of John Throgmorton, gent, for 6 weeks beginning the XVII of March 1555 and ending the XXVIII of April then next ensuing at XVII^{s} VI^{d} the week, CV^{s}. Item for the dyett of John Beadle Gent, for XI weekes & V dayes beginning the XVII of Marche, 1555, and ending the VIth of June 1556, at XIII^{s} IIIJ^{d} the week, VII^{li} XVI^{s} IJ^{d}. Item for the dyett of Henry Peckham, Esquire, beginning the XVII of Marche 1555, and ending the VII of July, then next ensuing at XVII^{s} VJ^{d} the weeke, XIIII^{li} X^{s}. Item for the dyett of John Danyell, Esquire, for XVI weekes and I daye beginning the XVII of March 1555, and ending the VII of July then next following at XVII^{s} VJ^{d} the weeke, XIIII^{li} II^{s} VJ^{d}. Item for the dyett of Edward Turnour gent, for XXIV weeks & V days beginning the XVII of March 1555, and ending the X of October then next following at XIII^{s} IIIJ^{d} the weeke, XIX^{li} XVI^{s} IJ^{d} » (1).

The name of Hunnis does not appear in this list ; but it may be held to be included in some other payments, such as « the Diet of Prisoners attainted, the diet of prisoners not attainted, and the diet of poor prisoners ». Though not here mentioned in the Tower accounts, we very soon find from the State Papers, that he *was in* the Tower. Though he was entered as *Hinnewes* by some of the Clerks, and as *Thomas Hinnewes* by one, he is invariably spoken of by his accomplices as « Hunnis of the Chapel », and he signs his confessions as « Wyllyam Hunnis ».

He owes his historical obscurity to the illegibility of the caligraphy of the Clerk of the Council employed in taking notes of the examinations that concerned him. Possibly even he owed his life to the same cause.

By these first arrests (2) the real danger of the plot was averted. Yet one cannot but feel, that, but for the double

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(1) The 10th of October was the conclusion of Bedingfield's annual reckoning.

This Manuscript has never been printed.

(2) The Privy Council on 17th March sent out a summons — « A letter of apparence to the Searchours of Gravesend ».

On the 25th March, they sent a letter to « Sir Henry Bedingfield with the body of Captain Staunton, to be kept in safe ward ».

faithlessness of the informer, the conspirators might have succeeded in all their schemes. Thomas Whyte has always had the credit of being the traitor to the traitors, and, though some part of it is lost, his confession supports this view. But the Privy Council may have had other informants. Some one must have told them of Ryvet's letter to Bigot on the 16th February. It is not at all clear that either the letter, or the Prisoners gave any information concerning the other branches of this plot at the time. But the suspicions of the Council had been aroused (1), and they were secretly questioning any one they could think of, as being connected. Even the Queen herself had catechised her maid Lady Dudley, about the unwarranted escape of her brother-in-law, and the extraordinary welcome given him by the French King.

After the arrests, commenced the carefully prepared examinations, with torture and threats of torture. All but the bravest submitted, and even the bravest quailed. John Throgmorton was the only hero. He absolutely refused to drag down others in his fall, or to tell the Council of any fact they did not already know, and he was probably the man of all others who had the most to tell. Most of the rest tried in a cowardly manner to escape themselves, regardless how they blamed others. Henry Peckham's conduct has been severly stigmatized by historians. After the failure of the efforts of his father Sir Edmund, and brother Sir Robert, to use their personal influence on his behalf, as members of Council, his brother seems to have suggested that he had joined the conspiracy in order to become an informer. This cue Harry Peckham took, and became an informer indeed, repeating even the private conversations of his fellow-prisoners, that he overheard through the chinks and crannies of the boards of their cells, which seem to have been built, cubicle-wise, in larger chambers.

William Hunnis acted neither like a hero nor a dastard. Cautious and wholesomely afraid of the rack, when examined upon the information of the very men who had invited him to

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(1) See Acts of the Privy Council. « A traitrous letter from Andrew Ryvet to William Bigott » ; « A conspiracy in the Eastern Counties ». There are various references to these two among these Acts, as well as in the State Papers ; but *no* allusion to the main plot.

join the plot, he answered fully all that was asked of him, whether it told for or against himself. He never excused himself for his actions, always adhered to his statements under various cross-examinations, and never dragged in a new name unnecessarily. Altogether his depositions are the most pleasant reading of the lot, after one has acquired, through much patience, the power of reading them.

The Venetian Ambassador had at first written to the Senate, that the prisoners were a band of miscreants, who had meant to set fire to the city in several places, in order to distract public attention while they robbed the Treasury. But his next letter told a very different story. The Lords of the Council confessed they were alarmed, the Queen would no longer appear in public, she would not allow Cardinal Pole to leave her side (1). She urged more impatiently than ever her husband's return, to guide her in her perplexity. More than forty persons had been arrested, chiefly military men who had nothing to do. The aim was not mere plunder, but a far-reaching revolution, the action of the Council is so secret, no one dare mention it at Court. No one was allowed to leave or enter the Kingdom.

The unhappy prisoners must have been in a sad case. If they heard news from the outer world at all, they would hear that on the 21st of March, after a bitterly repented recantation, Archbishop Cranmer had perished in the flames, at once as a heretic, and as a traitor attainted in the matter of Lady Jane.

By the 30th of March the plot was believed to be unravelled. On the first of April was drawn up a list (2) of those who had escaped over the sea, and on the fourth of that month they were publicly proclaimed as traitors (3). Machyn gives the list as he had heard it « a proclamation of certain gentlemen the whyche fled over the seas as traytors, Hare Dudley, Crystofer Aston thelther, Crystofer Aston the younger, and Francis Horsey and Edward Horsey, and Edward Cornwall and Richard Tremayne and Nicholas Tremayne and Richard Ryth

(1) On the 22nd March Cardinal Pole was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, but as Mary would not let him leave her, the ceremony was performed in Bow Church, Cheapside, London.

(2) A copy is in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries.

(3) See *Royal Proclamations*.

and Roger Renoll, and John Dale and John Caltham, and Hamond and Meverell and dyver odur ».

On April 8th, Philip and Mary desired their ambassador, Sir Henry Wotton, to request that Henry Dudley and other rebels, should be arrested and sent to England. It is somewhat to the credit of France, that in spite of the change of policy necessitated by the signing of the truce, none of the men who had been so carelessly played with, were ever given up (1). Noailles gives an amusing account of a parley concerning them. Lord Clinton had been sent over on a complimentary embassy to Henry II, and had asked the King to give up the traitors. He agreed to do so, *if they could be found*. On Mary's next interview with the French ambassador in London she reminded him of this promise. The ambassador acknowledged the agreement, but said it was only if the King could find them, and he could not. At least he did not, and Mary was very angry. But many in England were being suspected of sympathy and being apprehended. Sir Anthony Kingston was dragged towards the Tower, though ill. Fortunately for himself and his family, he died on his journey, and he was saved the terror, the torture, the attainder, the execution, and the confiscation of his property. Lord De La Ware and the Verneys, Edmund and Francis (2) (connected with the Peckhams, the Poles, and the Dudleys), were committed to the Tower, and charged on 11th June, not for any connection with the original plot, but for having given their adherence to it, when they were told of it by Daniell. « They plighted their troth on a broken demy sovereign ». Francis was tried 18th June, and found guilty, Edmund had a pardon on 12th July. Their Uncle Lord Bray (3), committed at first to the Fleet (4), was transferred to the Tower on 15th June, for having said on Jan. 5th : « If my neighbour of Hatfield might once reign, (meaning the Lady Eliza-

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(1) Henry Dudley returned to England after the death of Mary, and received the patronage of Leicester, only too glad to call him cousin. Adlard's Hist. of the Sutton Dudleys.

(2) See *Verney Papers*, edited by John Bruce for Camden Society.

(3) See also *Verney Papers*.

(4) Acts of Privy Council. 3 & 4.
S. P. D. S. Mary IX, 16, 22.

beth), I should have my lands again, and my debts given me agayne, which I both wish for and hope to see ». Lord Bray had been an unkind husband and was practically separated from Lady Bray. But his misery in the Tower touched her. His men used to come to her, and beg a piece of meat for their Lord. She appealed to the Queen for grace. She was refused access again and again, because Mary was in such a rage, on account of Philip's delayed return. At last her earnestness prevailed. When the Queen heard that the forsaken wife had come to intercede for her imprisoned husband, she gave her great praise, and significantly said, « God sometimes sent to good women evil husbands ».

Sir Nicholas Arnold seemed to have some extenuating circumstances and on 23rd Sept. 1556, was transferred to the Fleet. England, with pent breath, was dumbly waiting the next move, with a haunting terror, that, through the rashness of some of her friends, the heir-apparent to the throne might be impeached. Again Philip seems to have used his influence on her behalf, and the Earl of Devonshire wrote from Italy (1) that he had been wrongly suspected. Sir John Mason said (2) in reply that no one believed anything against him or the Lady Elizabeth, as everybody believed them of too much wisdom, honour and truth to be parties to any such matter. Poor Courtenay died at Padua, 18th September, it is said, of poison.

(1) *S. P. D. S.* Mary. IX. 16.
(2) *S. P. D. S.* Mary. IX. 22.

CHAPTER V.

PRISONERS.

Intercepted letters, reports of spies, examinations of prisoners meet in the State Paper volumes, and shew how the secret service was worked in Tudor times. Interesting as they are it would take too much space here to reproduce all the records of the Conspiracy. Communications between the plotters go on from December 1555. John Bedell (1) then wrote Christopher Ashton that he understood Mr Dudley had gone over to France, and that Sir Anthony Kingston had been set free. Sir Anthony was pardoned on the 24th December, but Dudley did not cross till 8th February.

The watching of the coasts was a permanent precaution, but the first contribution to the elucidation of the conspiracy is gained when on March 11th William Draper (2) of Heath, co. Southampton, was examined concerning certain persons who had gone over the seas from his house, by the help of Davy, a servant of Richard Uvedale. John Peers (3) was also brought before the Mayor of Southampton on March 16th 1555-6, and confessed that « a man with one eye came and asked him to carry over 16 good fellows into France at £ 8. 2. for their passage ». Stephen Rike (4), one of his mariners, examined same day, stated that nine persons embarked at Heath on Sunday 1st March at night and landed at Newhaven in France. It is important to remember that date, for it would seem certain that the Council had not been *informed* by that time, or they would not have had the chance to do this. Associated with these were the examinations in the Tower, of Richard Uvedale, Governor of Yarmouth Castle, Isle of Wight, on the 20th (5)

(1) *S. P. D. S.* Mary VI. 80.
(2) *S. P. D. S.* Mary VII. 17.
(3) *S. P. D. S.* Mary VII. 26.
(4) *S. P. D. S.* Mary VII. 27.
(5) *Ibid.* Mary VII. 31.

and 24th (1) March. He naturally told as little as he could concerning *the plot*, and dwelt on the details of the escape of Dudley. Two days before Candlemas John Throgmorton came unexpectedly to his house at Chilling in Hampshire, and asked for a boat for Harry Dudley, « who could not stay within the realm, he was so farre indebted ». On Candlemas Day he and Throgmorton rode over to Sir Francis Dawtrey's, only to make merry. On their return, they found Harry Dudley who had to wait for apparel. *They* spent Monday and Tuesday together, writing in cypher that he did not understand. On Wednesday Throgmorton went to London and on Thursday Bedell brought Dudley's apparel, « a cloak of black velvet furred, a ruffe, a jerkin, a hatte, a pair of velvet hose and other things ». The boat came Saturday morning, 8th February, 6 miles off. As they rode, Dudley talked with Bedell in secret, but at the water's edge told him that he was going to be entertained by the French King, and get as many Englishmen together as he could, probably 3000 ; he expected Christopher Ashton to join him soon ; and when he was strong enough he hoped to come again with 10 or 12 good sail, and that Uvedale would peg up the ordnance, and let him land at Portsmouth. If he could not, he would land at « Chatterton's house where the King's camp lay » ; if he felt strong enough he would march right on, if not he would go to Yarmouth in the Isle of Wight. He begged Uvedale to get him together some good fellows ; and he left his horses for Bedell's man to ride about and stir up his friends « and by God's bloud I will dryve out the Spaniards or dye for it ». Dudley also told him that « Barkafyld » (2) had already gone over to the French King with letters.

Shortly after Dudley's departure, Uvedale continued, Christopher Ashton came and wanted a boat, but he refused, and Ashton got one elsewhere. That was the Thursday in Lent week. After this, the Examinate heard no more until Friday was a sennight, when Bedell's brother-in-law Harry, came to Chilling with a letter from Throgmorton and Bedell, asking him to come and meet them at Chelsam Court on Friday. That

(1) *S. P. D. S.* Mary VII. 32.
(2) Associated with the French Ambassador.

was impossible, but he started on Saturday and reached on Monday. Throgmorton said he was going away the Wednesday after Palm Sunday, but he had sworn not to say where. But he wanted to tell Uvedale that if he had anything to tell either Dudley or himself, he was to go to one John Statham in Bowe Lane in a house of Mr Jervys the Alderman, and shew him the circle with a bar through it, which Mr Bedell gave him, « and by that token he will credit you ». He knew of no others associated with the plot than those he had named, all their hope of getting men was through Bedell, and their hope of intelligence through Throgmorton.

On March 10th this Richard Uvedale had written (1) to his servant Dominic to procure him 11 bars of silver from Master Cranwell, a seemingly simple letter, probably procured when his house was searched. But it might have had reference to the coining plan.

Except where distinctly stated in the Manuscript, the order of the Confessions &c., given in the State Papers is merely conjectural, and closer study proves them to be out of order. There are three lists of conspirators given, under the queried date of 16th March, probably from the Informer's first report, names and memoranda together.

« Notes relative to the Conspiracy and names of the conspirators. Carden and Carter of the King's house, Kingston, Arnold, Nico (2), Yorke, Smith, Pentecost of the Harrow in Gracious Street, Leycester for the land. Bowles or Bowes the coiners lying at one Otteyes house. Sir Nicholas Trimbles. Ryth the man of law's man. Dethick moved a man for a warehouse, whereof Mr Lieutenant can tell. Nicholas Throgmorton, how often hath he been with them at Anthony's. Bedell's brother at Bromley to know of him when Bedell and the rest were at his house. Harry Peckham. My Lord of Devonshire's man here at Smyth's house. Long John Walker. The licence of the beere of my Lord of Devonshire. (Hunnysse) (3) is, he thought. Sir James Croft, he refused to come. Randolph, Crofte

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(1) *S. P. D. S.* Mary VII. 16.
(2) *Ibid.* Mary VII. 23.
(3) Another name erased, replaced by Hunnysse.

and in all over thirty Knights and many noblemen. Dethick said Carter loved the Queen as il as he did, and was privy to the Convey of the Treasure. Smyth of the gard brought unto Dethick a quarter of Veale to supper within this fortnight. A widow called Mrs Bonham of Bedlem. A man called Utton and his wief of Rossey's acquaintance, Rossey, Hunnesse, (Carter) (1) all these were at dinner on Sunday last with flesh. Daniell saith that one Bury brought him recommendacions from Edward Horsey and Francis Horsey out of France. This Bury is Chidley's man that killed Butler ».

« Names of the (2) Noblemen vehemently suspected of being privy to the Conspiracy. The Yerle of Oxford, The Lord Grey, Sir Anthony Kingston, Sir John Sentelow, Sir Walter Denys, Sir Nicholas Arnold. Sir Willyam Constentyd. The Horseys, Captain Randole. Captain Stanton. John Danyell. John Throgmorton. Henry Peckham. John Phetipas, Francis Phetipas, one Myrre of Slyfield ».

Another list runs (3) « Thomas Lord Butler. Pury alias Bury, Lyggins, Turnor, Verney, Powell, Carter, Smyth, Walker, Randof, Arnold, Courtenay, Nich, Alday ». On back « Danyell or Verney. Croftes, John Stanton and Randall ».

A list of the prisoners, resembling Machyn's, appears in the Appendix (4), and includes in error Sir Anthony Kingston as being among those « apprehended and committed ». It shews some distinctions, as « Throgmorton » ; « Throckmorton Merchant », « Bedell a Clothier ». « Bethell of the Wardrobe ». « Thomas Smith, Merchant ». Elsewhere there is « Thomas Smith of the Guard ». It also mentions « Girling Captain of the Isle of Wight », which office Richard Uvedale is sometimes in error supposed to hold.

Apparently Anthony (5) Throgmorton's wife was also arrested.

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(1) Struck out.

(2) *S. P. D. S.* Mary VII. 24.

(3) *S. P. D. S.* Mary VII. 25.

(4) Appendix *S. P. D. S.* Mary VII. 45. 38.

(5) It is not quite clear who this Anthony was. The eighth son of Sir George Throgmorton of Coughton was Anthony, and he had a wife Catherine, daughter of William Willington of Barcheston, & widow of William Catesby. This Anthony's wife Catherine, was widow of John Butler, citizen of London, who owned the manor of Pipe near Erdington, Warwickshire, when she married Anthony. Anthony, citizen & mercer of London, sold Milbourn Grange to Sir Thomas Leigh, citizen & alderman of London 1565.

« The examination of Catherine Butler alias Throgmorton » is the earliest dated (1) of the London group. (March 20th). She said that « John Throgmorton (2) was brother to Anthony her husband, and had a room to himself in their house for seven years. Edward Randolph had spent two nights with him within the last twelve days. Bedell the Clothier with one eye had often been there, and Uvedale of Hampshire, but not lately. White had often been with John, but not much at her house ».

Among the examinations the Clerk makes a note to enquire if Sir Nicholas (3) or Thomas Throgmorton was concerned, the fourth and the fifth sons of Sir George Throgmorton of Coughton, Warwickshire.

On 24th March was examined William Coulyng (4), who, « on Saturday was a sennight, went to Wapping to Mr Bedell about hiring a crayer for a hundred men, of one James More, at the request of John Throgmorton ».

The Interrogatories (5) drawn up to be put to Bethell, 26th March, concerned Loveday, Dudley, Kingston, Bawcriff, Throgmorton, Uvedale. One of these was : «What Uvedale said concerning the delivery of the Lady Elizabeth within 24 hours if she were committed to the Tower, by means of Mr Chamberlain ? » The answer to this is not preserved ; but he said (6) that Uvedale had provided the boat for Dudley, who expected 6 or 7 hundred men of the Isle to fall at his feet. « Harry Tuster, dwelling at Bromley carried the letter. Harry had an errand to Hinneys by word of mouth touching the will. He never heard of Sir Francis Dawtrey ».

On the 26th March (7) is entered an important document, of which the first part has been lost, the confession of Thomas White. This differs from these others in that it has been written by himself at leisure. What is preserved commences at folio V,

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(1) *S. P. D. S.* Mary VII. 30.
(2) Anthony Throgmorton of Castleton had a son John, if he had a son Anthony also. this might be he.
(3) *S. P. D. S.* Mary VII. 60.
(4) *S. P. D. S.* Mary VII. 33.
(5) *S. P. D, S.* Mary VII. 35.
(6) *S. P. D. S.* Mary VII. 36.
(7) *S. P. D. S.* Mary VII. 37.

and we know not what he may have said, or whom he may have accused in his earlier confession, or at what date he may have handed it in. « My *second* writing this 26th of March 1556. Before I was made privy to the conspiracy, Bethell had often promised to come and fetch my wooll at my house and I would help him to my neighbour's wool ». Coming up before Candlemas Bethell told him of the conspiracy by the advice of Gervase, and then went on to Lambeth. Whyte was given a gelding and apparel and told to ride all night, to carry information. Bethell came to Ashton at Peckham's house. « The Council was advertised of Horsey's and others departure out of England into France. Therefore he willed Ashton in any wise to haste himself for fear of catching him, then all were lost. So Ashton trussed up his stuff, went straightway on to Lambeth, and laye there at a Common Inn, but one that kept him secret in a chambere, as I think it is the Harew by the waterside, I can go well to the house, but the signe I cannot call to remembrance... that he said and laughed that there was newes com out of Flanders from the King to the Queene that he would not come thither a gret while, or as they thought any more ».

« Then he said yt was tolde him by some that repaired to the Privy Chamber, that as I remember, Mr Kemp should bring this newes and the Queene was in a rage and caused the King's picture to be carried out of the privie Chamber, and she in a wonderfull storme and cold not be in any wise quyeted. Then I asked hym of whom and how this was knowen, and he said, as farre as I remember by Sir Peter Mewtas and others, and then I wold fayne knowe further, but he said I should know, but not nowe ». « He lykewise told me of the talk between the Queen and my Ladye Dudley that she asked her of where her brother Henry was and she made answer in France, as I hear saye, for I knewe not of his going ; and then the Queen asked her for what cause he went over, and then she answered, she thought for det, to whom the Queen answered that he neded not for det for we have given him £ 80 by yere, and my Lady affirmed & said. Belike your grace, yt ys trewe, but notwithstanding all that did not find hym, for it was by a serve of his creditors that he durst not convey her any-

thing. To whom the Queene's Majestie said if it had been for det, if we had bynne mad pryvie he shold not have gonne to the French King to paye his det, for as we are crediblie advertised, he is so received at the King's hand and so entertayned, that if he had bynne the most noble man coming from us thether cold not have been better, or the like received, marvelling much, said the Queene's Majesty, for what cause the French King shold entertayne any subject of ours in such sort. And farther Bedyll said that upon his arrival, in France, he was met at the waterside, and so brought to the King with noblemen, that when he came to the court he left company of all his nobles, and toke Dudley straightway with hym in his Privie Chamber, and at his landing gave him 4000 crownes first for entertaynement. Then I asked hym how he knew this that the Queen spake, and he said Throgmorton had repair to such as were daily in the cort, that there was nothing there done, but by his friends it was perfectly knowen, and gladly I wold have lerned their names but he wold not tell me ». Then follows a detailed account of the later days of the conspiracy, and the plans for the 17th March (1).

« And further calling to my remembrance, seeing the stoute shamefastness of them who were the chef procurors of this conspiracie, that I must be dryven to wryte every circumstance and presumpcion concerning thole talke at every tyme had by any of us, I shall by God's grace and discharge of my conscience nothing writ but the truth, and so I begynne to recyte every pointe herein. I will declare that upon the othe to be taken in Throgmorton's studie at his brother's house, Throgmorton said to Bedill, Dethick, and me on this wise. « What soever shall become of every one of us in this dangerous enterprise, we would here promise that albeit *you* and *you* naming every of us by name shold accuse any of us of this, or any part toching this enterprise that by and by to revyle him with most taunting and naughtye rebuke may be devised, and thereby setting a stern countenance as it shall stand us upon to devise, all exceptions may be imagined against him, for the couragin and better comfort therein shewed us of a matter that was

(1) See page 63.

most true and accused by Strangways against two brethren named Tremayne, but they reviling him so stoutly even to the threatening of the rack, misled their judges ». Bethell advised Whyte to settle his lands and goods upon Cuthbert Temple, to keep till the worst was over, but Whyte wanted them to be conyeyed to his wife and children, whom he was loth to leave behind. Bethell offered to board them at his house in Beaconsfield, then he suggested Cuthbert Temple's house, Whyte said he would rather that his wife and children should board with Sir Anthony Kingston. He never meant this but to the proving of Bethell and Ashton. Whyte also spoke of the plans for removing the treasure, of the Crayer and other things. Bethell had told them he was now Admiral of the Seas about Severn, and that all his power and his friends at sea, we should have at our will. « So Ashton often said to me when he talked of this matter at his lodging at Mr Peckham's. He said he heard that a noble gentleman had joined them, that was able to bring a great part of Wales at his taile, then I asked him, and yf it were my Lord of Pembroke, and he said tushe for hym, for he is more feared than loved in Wales, and this man I speake of hath many friends, and is there well-beloved, and able to dryve my Lord of Pembroke out of Wales. Then I said that two of the best men in England are not able to dryve hym out, thro being the Queens frende as ye saye he is, and having the trust in hym ye saye she hath, and he said that all his truste was in his gret horses, but for them I will do well enough, for he said with five or six thousand pounds he wolde, what with stakes sharpened at both ends, and gallthrops, and with trenching his men round aboute the same waye, at which waye shold his ordinance being such of the longest the French King had, and such peces that would fetch further than any in this realme, that sholde be drawen with 20 mens armes so shadowed with men that the enemys shold not knowe where ther ordenance wer. When they thought to give the onset they should devide themselves and discharge ther peces, not seen or thought of by ther enemies, being shadowed with men, and the galthrops lying about them, and having as he said 7 or 8 hundred of the best hagbuts in all France that would spit in their faces with their shotte would make the horsemen give roome and goe backe ».

« After this another time Monday 15th day of March I came to Throgmorton's brother's house, there thinking to have spoken with Throgmorton. He called me into a parlor at the upper end of the hall (and ther I saw one Turner whom I know) and said that on the morrow after he would bring one to view the lokks that if it were possible he wold pike them oppen and so he and the rest that appointed to have bynne in this conspiracie shold have met at Rosey's the Tuesday the 17th day of March 1555 concerning the treasure. Before this I should have shewed that at my coming to Hampton as I was entering myn ynne I met with one Walter Lovedaie who was the gret help of Ashton of money for to furnyshe him to go over sea, and after in came Bethel who said he thought all was marred we had done, for he thought it had been disclosed through two of Ashton's men being taken, and Ashton fled » till Bedyll and Ryth brought him word that all was well. They had gone round the town as if they were seeking some hounds, asking at every inn, and they had seen one of Ashton's servants looking out of the prison door, and found they had been arrested on quite a different charge. « Ashton had fled to Southampton, and found an Argosy waiting for a cargo of wool which was not allowed to be shipped, so they gladly took him and his over to France ».

It may be noted that Whyte drags in every name he can think of. Among others is the name of Cutbert Temple, nowhere else mentioned. He becomes interesting to us through « the report of *Shakespeare of the Court* » (1), a paper dated indefinitely « March », but which should no doubt follow in this place. « The Informacion of Roger Shakespere for the behaviour of one Cutbert Temple in absenting himselfe from the church. The sayd Roger Shakespere sayth that the forenamed Cutbert Temple hath not this twelve monthes and a quarter come to his Parishe Churche, and was much associated with one Mr Ashton and one Mr Dudley and one Bedill which is nowe in the Tower ; and one Glover of Coventry whose brother of late was burned. More over there is a man that oweth unto the forsayd Cutbert Temple the summe of 700 pounds to be paid

(1) *S. P. D. S.* Mary Appendix VII. 47. This Roger was a yeoman of the Royal Chamber, who seems to have been appointed in Hen. VIII's reign.

yerely a hundred pounds for the space of seven years, and now would take £ 400 to have it payd immediately for what occasion he doeth it, I cannot tell ». Endorsed Roger Shaxpere against Cutbert Temple.

Bawcriff (1) confessed that Bedill and Ashton consulted Castell and Pommery, two engravers, to make dies for coining ; and Martin Dare (2), one of those who had gone to France, gave a long account of the same conspiracy.

Then (3) came interrogatories to William Rossey (4) and replies to the same on some undated day of March, but as it is given as 1555, it must have been before the 25th.

To the first, that he knew Mr Dethick first eight years ago at Bulloigne by the introduction of Mr Cowpar. To the 2nd and 3rd that he hath known Throgmorton about eight days, and White 12 days, by Mr Dethick, to the 4th and 5th that he entered into this conspiracy for the removal of the Queen's treasure by the suggestion of Dethick, and that he knew no more than of Throgmorton, Dethick, Bedyll, and White. To the 6th, They agreed that the treasure should be conveyed into France, but he did not know where ; 7th, He knew nothing about any rebellion against the Queen ; 8th, about 14 or 15 days past, he being prisoner in the gatehouse in Westminster, one Mr Turner, keeper thereof sent for him to one John Yorke's house in Westminster, and there he had supper with the others, including Stanton, Vincent, Brown, Spencer, Mr Smith and Dethick sent home a breast of veal to his house for supper at the meeting there.

He knows nothing of the French plot.

Some belated notes in the following volume shew that John (5) Vaughan denied any knowledge of Dudley's conspiracy and Bygott (6) is again examined as to Danyell's and Rosey's words about seizing the Tower. Rosey is re-examined, and the council arrange « out of Rosey to charge Dethick withall as to the

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(1) *S. P. D. S.* Mary VII. 58. See also appendix Mary VII. 46.
(2) *S. P. D. S.* Mary VII. 59.
(3) *S. P. D. S.* Mary VII. 60.
(4) *S. P. D. S.* Mary VII. 61.
(5) *S. P. D. S.* Mary VIII. 54.
(6) *S. P. D. S.* Mary VIII. 57, 58.

conspiracy and the seizing of the treasure. Dethick told Rosey they should have a better world shortly. Dethick said he would have money in abundance in a short time (1) ». A second set of notes out of Rossey to charge Dethick follow.

One curious manuscript in the British Museum seems to me the deposition of an arrested servant of one of the conspirators in France, not Chidley's servant, as Chidley is mentioned, but some other gentleman of the same style, probably caught carrying letters, or he may have been one of the spies and informers that track conspirators. It is undated, but it reads as if it might have been some time in March 1555-6, except for the phrase used concerning the « late Earl of Devonshire » which makes it possible it concerned the final stage of the rebellion. The writer states that on the 11th of *this month* his master received letters from Ashley, and sent him to confer with a mysterious N who told him much about Dudley's enterprises. He said that about 7 weeks past the French King and Constable had richly rewarded Dudley, who had drawn this N to confer with the conspirators in Guisnes, and that he will return very shortly with letters of instruction and articles which he will get signed with their hands, and then « finde the meanes to send the same unto my master or to some trustie man of his appointment ». « If he cannot come to my master, N will write to him by some trustie friend to receyve the same bill of names and such other intelligence as he may know ».

« These men are such as they are well able to do this, and are in such nombers and strong that without greate pollicie they will not be taken. Dudley has recommendacions to Sir Rauf Bagnoll (2). The Queen of Scots sicke of a quarten (3) and as is surely thought, is in a consumption. The Dolphine is falling sicke again. Chidley continueth a suitor to my Mr, and seemith to have a good affection to his country and seeketh nothing but the health thereof. The French have an ill opinion of the King's Majestie, as he hath not kept his promises » &c. (4).

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(1) *S. P. D. S.* Mary VIII. 59.
(2) Cotton MS. Titus B. 11, 77.
(3) That is an ague.
(4) The council sends the King similar information received through Dr Wotton, dated Nov. 22 ? *S. P. D. S.* Mary IX, 50.

(March 30th ; queried date.) Further deposition (1) by Thomas White concerning Mr Carden. « At another time he told me that one Carter told him that Sir Thomas Carden and other wer appointed that if the Queen's Majesty had sent any treasure over to the King's Majesty, that Sir Thomas Carden and a number of gentlemen should have taken the treasure with force from them that should have carried it, and further sayde that there were a nomber of worshipfull men wold help us and be gladde of this matter, and that Alday had been in troble for Wyat's rebellion and had his pardon by his Master's means, and he wold with all his harte thoughe he dyed for yt, to helpe in this, and so would have done for his part at the Jugo de Cano (2) ». « Concerning Sir Nicholas Arnold. As before I wrote in my first confession that Bedyll told me that as he was ryding aboute Abyndon he met by the way Sir Nicholas Arnolde and he raised his bonnet, then Mr Arnold stayed his horse and said Do ye not know me, and he said yes yor Mistershipp's name is Mr Arnold, then he said how doth Sir Christopher, meaning Ashton and to whom he answered and said Thanks be God he is in helthe, then Mr Arnold said Commend me to him and tell hym I wold be glad to hear from him ».

Another of White's papers, under date « March 30th » should be on or before March 27th, endorsed « White concerning Mr Hennes. Dethicke told me that when we shold have made other pryvie concerning the conveye of this Treasure he moved that one Hunnys a very handsome man to be made privie to us in this Enterprise and thereupon we made danger to let another have intermeddling or doing therein for fear of disclosing, to whom he answered and said that we should not nede to dowt this man, for before at the Jugo de Cano (3) or Barryars, he, Allday, Cornwalle and other to the number of 12, were appointed to have slayen the Queene's Majestie and after that the Kinges Majestie and then I asked him how it happened that it took not effect, he sayd that there was such a cowardness and feare in their stomachs when thei sholde have done it, that

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(1) *S. P. D. S.* Mary VII. 48.
(2) See page 58.
(3) *S. P. D. S.* Mary VII. 47.

they made scrupulnes who sholde begynne therein first, for said he, that whoesoeer shold kill her Majestie shold have bynne put to dethe for ensample sake whosoer had byn King or Queen after, or else it shold have bynne a great slaunder to the Realme, and perchaunce they might have practysed the like again them that sholde have byn Ruler ; and further he sayd that before this ye know that Hinnis hath bynne about to counterfeit the keys of Brigham to stele awaye the Treasure, and then I asked hym how he cold have come to the handling of them. He sayd he thought he kept Brigham's wife, and was very familiar with hym by that meanes, and further Dethicke saide that he knew Brigham's owne money was with the Queens and thoughte that his money to be most in old golde, for he said that he knew dyvers had been in hande with Brigham to have golde for silver which was payd hym by payments, but that he was always so trustie and true that he wold not alter one penny that came to his hand by payment to the Queenes use, althoughe he had been now his frende, and further saide laughing, « by my faythe, when we shall have the Treasure, as we shall without ffaile, I woulde we sholde leave Brigham's money behinde untaken, for he is a very playne man, and we shall have enough besides, for I am sure there is in Brigham's keeping about fifty thousand pounds, and I am sure there is more in the three other teller's keping, and that there comes in more daily, for further Dethicke said that he wolde not doubt with three hundred men to take the Queen out of any house she had, for he thought that divers in the Queenes house of the gard and others, but only for feare would at such a poynt, when they saw helpe enough, rather help us than her ».

From this, from Bethell, and from Dethicke the examiners prepared to question Hunnis. His turn came on the 27th of March. The paper is endorsed « Hunneyes confession and Bedyll of the fishing (1) ».

« William Hennewes being asked how often he did talke with Bethell, sayth that the first tyme was at Greenwich about February laste, and then he required him to go with him a-fysshing, and he said yf he would he would be welcome. Then Hinnes

(1) *S. P. D. S.* Mary VII. 38.

demanded further to talk with him, and so they both went from the Court, and walked underneath the Fryars wall at Greenwich, and then Hinnes said « Captaine by the way of talke let me aske a question, I putt the case, when ye come to the seas, and see such a nomber of Scots as is reported to be soe that ye can do no good, will ye come home again like fooles? ». « Well », sayd he, « all this shall not make me afrayd, for I will goe and see them, and yff I cannot fysh there, I will fysh in some other place ». Well sayd Hennes, I would be loth to spend my time in fyshing, that I had rather goe a pyryssing ». « Of such mates, sayd he, a man may have enow, but I will none such to goe with me ». « Well, sayd Hinnes, what if yor men persuaded with you to do as you say, this yor journey is chargeable and to yor undoyng, and there is nowght to be gott, wherefore wee will abrod, and yor being but one manne, cannot chues but assent », and therefore saith he, « I do man my shippes as well with gentlemen and servingmen, as with maryners to the end I may rule them ». Well sayd Hinnes I woold very faine goe with you, but I shall nott be redy so soone ». « Well, saythe he, I must touch at Beaumaris, and yf ye be in time this mid Aprill I will receive you there, for there I depend to take in others, and so we parted.

After the 1st March Hinnes met with Bethell at Fleet Bridge and sayd « Captaine well mett ». He demanded of him when he went to the sea, and he sayd forthwith, yf ye goo sayth he, to Saint Katherines, ye shall see my shippe for at this tyde I do loke for them ». Sayth Hinnes « doe ye here of any newes abrod that certain men should arrive within this land from beyond the seas? » sayth he, « In fayth I car not what I here, but for my self, I will be sure to serve my countrie truly and honourably, to kepe that no strangers shall land », so we departed at Temple Bar ».

The next day, March 28th, examination followed this confession (1).

« William Hinnes examined at eyght of ye cloke in the nyght being the 28th of March, saith one Bowes talked with him on Fryday was a fortnight in the tilt yard at Greenwich at one of

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(1) *S. P. D. S.* Mary VII. 39.

the cloke in the afternoon, the same day, and among other his talk the sayd Bowes told this examinate that at Miklemas last he was in France with the great and thick Ambassador that was here in King Edward's time. The sayd Bowes further sayd that he required his help and ayd to procure and get him a licence under the French Kyngs brode seale that he myght have liberty to use and occupy a mint there for the ayd of his country men against the Spaniards, and the sayd thick ambassador commended him with his letters to the high Constable of France, and he brought the sayd Bowes unto the French Kyng and the sayd Kynge denied him his brode seale, but graunted him another letter under his own hand, to all his officers licencing him to quoyne testons only, with injunctions that he shold not quoyne any quoyne of that realme and the sayd Bowes told unto the sayd examinat that allso he had declared the same matter unto Dethick and the examinate demanded of this sayd Bowes how yt chaunced that this enterprise went not forward & his answer was for that he wanted money, saying that if he could have made but one hundred crowns it had then gone forward, and the said examinat did further aske of him whom they were that sent him over, and then the sayd Bowes answered, « nobody », and so they departed.

Item. The sayd examinat being demanded whether that was true that he declared unto Dethick touching *Jocodino*, he confesseth that he sayd it to Dethick, but uppon his own conscience and dampnation he taketh it that it was of hys own devyce to knowe ye secrecie of this conspiracy without any other ground or cause.

Item. He sayd ye 12th day of March or there about, Dethick told him as they walked within the Palace of Westminster, that the Lord Courtenay had made suite to have liberty to sell £ 200, by year, and could obtain but for £ 100, notwithstanding now sayth Dethick the Earl hath license to sell the £ 200 by year, and the money that he maketh thereof is for this conspiracie, and I may say to you, sayth he, that ther is of this conspiracy nigh about the Quene's Majestie and dayly attending uppon her, then this examinate asked what they were, to the which Dethick answered, what nede you care for that? »

This being all he remembered at present, he promised to try to recall anything that might be perilous to the Queen or disturbing to the Commonwealth, and signed the paper with his curious angular hand : « William Hunnis ».

He was again examined on the 30th March (1) about his talk with Bethel, which he repeated almost verbatim, adding however, « Bethell told this examinate that he had a commission to apprehend Cole wherever he met him, and then the examinate, not before knowing of Cole's beyng abroad desired Bethell to tell him the cause why. Then Bethell sayd that Cole himself dyd lye still at the Taverns in Waterford, dronke lyke a beast, and all that his barcke got aborde would not suffyce to pay that he ought for his horses and himself, and in the end went forth himself, & met with a merchant of Bristow & spoyled him and his ware. This is all the talke thei had at this time, & so they parted, yor Examinate went to London & Bethell to the Court ».

«Hunnes examined the 30th (2) March what the talk was between him and Bethell the (not entered day) of the same month. The Examinat sayth he mett Bethell at Fleet Bridge & bade him « God speed, Captaine », he further demanded, when he went to the seas and he sayd « forthwith », sayd the examinat « wher have you now been ? » « To buy me an ansyent ». Sayd ye examinat, « when shall we see yor shipp ? » sayde he « yf you go to Saint Katharines ye shall see her, for I do loke for them this tyde ». Sayd ye examinat « Captaine ye be at great charges with this viage », « yea » sayth he, « and must be at more yeat, and yeat sayth he, I am metely well trymmed, for I have harnesses, shirts of mail, and other furnyture for a hundred men & upward ». Sayth ye examinate, « and that is well, but what work have ye forth beyond the seas ? ». « None » sayth he. Sayd the Examinate, « here ye of any commotion at home, or of any strangers that should arrive within this land ? » « No » sayth he, « but what will ye say and ye see our English fleet land in the west partes » ? Sayth ye examinate, « and thynke ye so ? « such a thing I hear » sayth he, « but as for my part, I car

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(1) *S. P. D. S.* Mary VII. 42.
(2) *S. P. D. S.* Mary VII. 42.

not, I will be sure to serve my country trewly » « And how ? » « In such sort that there shall no strangers come a land », Said the Examinate, « it is well sayd Captain, but do ye not to go a-roving ». Sayd he « No, be ye ready to dy, for think ye if I had ben so minded that I would have bestowed so much monnye of worth » ? Sayth the examinat, « I think so ». « Well I will no further troble you » saith he « God be with you Sir », and so they departed ».

« Item. that this examinat sayth that he heard John Benbowe of the Chappel Royal (1) say that he had delivered to Bethell so many shovells, and spades, and pooles for shippes as came to 6li or thereabout, and the examinat thought them no fitte tooles to catch fysshe withal. And another time ye said Benbowe declared in ye hearing of the examinate that he must go to London with Bethell for two or three dayes, about his affairs, but what affaires these were, ye examinate knowes nott. Item, that ye said Benbowe further sayd that he had got Bethell a shipp of 80 tons to go with him his viage, and ye examinate sayth, so God give help, he is able to say no more of Bethell. William Hunnis (Signature not so bold as the last) ».

It is noteworthy that the paper entitled « Out of Hynnes to charge Bethell » is endorsed « Out of Hynnes against Bethell and against *himself* ». None other runs so (1a). White (2) continues his story of conversations between Rosey, Dethick, Stanton and Bethell, about taking the treasure to Henry Peckham's house, a good sure place, if they might be certain his father, Sir Edmund Peckham, were not in. White (3) draws up interrogations to be put to Bethell, Dethick, and others (4). Questions put to Dethick concerning Smith and Walker, and (5) an order was given to Dethick to write out all he knew (6). The first confession of Dethick concerning the treasure is followed by a second and

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(1) Benbow did not seem to get into serious trouble over this. On 29th April 1557, he bought some crown lands in London. Harl. MS. 600.

(1a) *S. P. D. S.* Mary VII. 45.

(2) *S. P. D. S.* Mary VII. 61.

(3) *Ibid.*, VII. 62.

(4) *Ibid.*, VII. 64.

(5) *Ibid.*, VII. 63.

(6) *Ibid.*, VII. 65.

fuller one (1). « The meetings of Throgmorton, Whyte, Bedell, Rossey, Hunnys and I, as touching the treasure. After sundry meetings and conferences among ourselves, there were sundry devyces for ye obtayning thereof as also for the conveying, and every one of us should devyse with ourselves who could do best servys for ye purpose further upon then and provide trusty maryners and a ship withall, and that should Hunnys and Throgmorton do, but Rosey thought best to hyde yt in a secret place, which he had found out himself within the house, and to carry away the rest that we should escape withall, and I and Whyte to be ye owners and hyrers of a shippe, whereuppon we agreed that every man would do his best, but for the purpose hitherto, as far as I know, there was nothing done. As touching communications for knowledge of the conspiracy, I am able to accuse none, nor any other by name more that I have with this my writing declared. . . . . nor could say more where the treasure should be bestowed, yf yt were conveyed into France, whether yt should be that Throgmorton had practysed with the Ambassador of France, and a post was sent purposely to bring perfect intelligence what should be done therein, and where we mought be safely bestowed with the sayd treasure yff we had conveyed it thither ».

Another deposition (2) describes the course of Dethick's life. He had learned Logic and Philosophy in the schools, and the last house he was in had been Baliol College, about 1527. Through lack of living he came to grief and became steward to Lord Grey. He explained how he entered the plot. In a further examination he stated he was told by Carter about Cawarden (3).

« Out of Dethick to charge Throgmorton » (4) was followed by the re-examination of this important man. « John Throgmorton (5) beyng examined upon his othe the last of Marche 1556 » said that he never knew of any oath of secrecy between himself and others. He never said that the Queen kicked the King's

(1) *S. P. D. S.* VII. 66.
(2) *Ibid.*, Mary VII. 67.
(3) *Ibid.*, VIII. 13.
(4) *Ibid.*, VII. 63.
(5) *Ibid.*, VII. 66.

portrait out of her chamber, and generally denied as much, and disclosed as little as he could.

A list of questions were drawn up to be put to Dethick (1), chiefly as « to raising a rebellion for establishing the Lady Elizabeth as Queen, and driving out the Spaniards and Popery, and to confer with the Earl of Devonshire ». And an enquiry was made about a T. Sawtrey (2), connected with John Dethick who wished to make a private discovery.

March 30th. (queried date) Statement (3) by *Hinnes ;* « John Dethicke of Westminster, understanding that I had some skyll and practise in the syens of alkemy (many erasures) and more, knowing me to be, by means of certayne suites in Ireland in many men's dangers, in the beginning of February or thereabout debated with me in this wyse. « Mr. *Hinnes*, I have but small aquaintance of you, and that which is, came of my friend Mr. Rogers, for whoes sake and yor own I woold be glad ye should do well, and so much as in me lyeth I will do you good, for I take you to be a constant young man », and so he hath said « Mr. Dethicke, for your goodwill and his I most hartily thank you both ». « I understand, » sayth he « that ye be skillful in metalls ». « In fayth but very little ». « If ye have any skill therein I can tell you a way how to enrich us both ». « That sir, that way, I wold gladly lerne ». « There is a peace of money called ealdergylders of 2/ a piece, and there is not but 2d. of golde in moost of them, and if ye will practis therein wee shall soone be made rich ». « Sir yt is agaynst the laws, and treason ». « Yt is nether fellony nor treason, for so much as yt ys not current within this realm ». « What shold we then do with these, or how myght they be uttered (?) ». « At Saint Katherine I canne send them away faster than ye shall quoyn them ». « Let me advise me on this, and tomoro I will tell you more of my mynd ».

« How say you as concerning our talke yesternight ».

« Sir yor persuasion is great, yeat though yt be neyther treson nor fellony we cannot quoyn so close, but ye hamer must be hard,

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(1) *S. P. D. S.* VIII. 64. entered « May 9th » with query, but probably much earlier.

(2) *S. P. D. S.* Mary VIII. 68.

(3) *Ibid.* Mary VII. 46.

and so well wyll they judge wee quoyne the one as the other, the which may soone bryng us bothe to open shame and rebuke, and for myself loss of lyving at the least (1). For which cawse I thinke yt not goód to intermeddle therewyth ». « How say ye and yf there shall be a place apoynted on the other syd of the seys whereas you may knock and do what ye lyst at yor pleasure ». « Wher, and what call ye that place ? » « As for that ye may not know till ye come there, but yff you will go say so ». « Be yor leave I will fyrst heare the place before I make promise to go ». « Well how say you by Diepe in France ». « Marie, I lyk it well ». « Ther is a castell hard adjoining to the sey in which ye shall work ». « Whoos ys yt ? » « Captaine Kybalde's ». « Will he be so contented ? ». « Yea, and shal be a doer therein himself and therefore well may you quoyn angells, ryalls, and testons, and any quoyn elss ». « Yea but this asketh a great charge ». « Care not ye for the charges thereof, ye shall fynd all things redy to your hand ». « Well I will, Sir, bethink me of this till our next meeting ». « Whether go ye ? » « To the Court ». « I pray you of this our talk, lett me fynd fydelytye in you ». « And I pray you yf it will go, provide me quoyns and such men as ye think meet, as for me I have no will but that I put trust in you ».

« Yor letter I have received. What newes at Court ? » « Non ». « How loks the Queene ? » « I saw her not sins my last beying with you ». « Wot ye what (2) Anthony told me yesterday nite what he sayd ye Quene loked ivel-favoryd, olde, wants her teth, and her breath stinketh and she is barron. And as for the Kyng, he is a goodly young and lusty gentleman, and she nothing fyt for such a Prince as he is ». « But to the purpose, how say you to and as concerning that last talk we had ». « Mary I have bethought me of another danger ». « What is that ? » « I put cayse that our English Embassadore sholde have worde and intelligence of our quoyning, and so he make mean to have us apprehended & sent home as Traytors ». « That is the worst ye can say, but this I wil further assure you

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(1) The moral character of « gentlemen of the Chapel », must be irreproachable. See page 62, *Cheque Book, Chapel Royal.* Camden Society. Publ.

(2) Mark Antony, Violinist at Court, see Expenses of the Privy Chamber.

the French Kyng shall ayd and assyst ye therein, yea shall well disburse into our handes a hundreth thousande pounde ». « To what end ? » « Nay, that I may not dysclose. For I have taken a solemn othe to the contrary. Wherefore yf ye love me, demand it not, for I had thought to have kept this from you untill yor commyng into France ». « Why, Sir, there ought nothing to be kept from me, that ys oppen unto you, since at your request, I do determine to leave my lyving, my friends, and my country to go with you ». « I pray you be contented, you shall be sworne as I am, and then ye shall know more ». *At that time we had no more talk thereof, and the next day I resorted to him and thus sayd.* « *Mr. Dethicke I doe well perceive by yor talke yesternyght.. Yet in the mean seasone let me understand there is no* (erased). « Well sayd I, I would not have ye thynke me so Ignorant but I partly understand you further in this behalf ! » Sayth he « In fayth, what is it ? » Quod I. « I doe understand that for so much ye French Kyng will not allonely permit us to erect a mynt in his domynes to quoyne our moni, but allso freely giveth us £ 100,000, yt must needs follow, that either he doth intend to send some of us Englyshmen against ourselves at home with that money, or ells doth intend with that same to come into the land himself, proclamyng greater wages than we of custom have been wonted to receive. ». Thereupon quod he « Beshrew that head. Thou hast a curst brain, and forasmuch thou hast so truely gessed, I put thee out of dowt that same ys our intention, for the French Kynge hath promised our gents on the other syd to ayd them with shippes and vitalls and ordenance, and all that we shall requyre shalbe to ayd them withall ». « This » quod I « doth lyke me very well ».

The next day I came to him and said « Sir yf that wee myght fynd the meanes to have or make frendes for agaynst the tyme apoynted, yt were much better ». Quod he « yt grieveth me to here how like an asse ye speake, as who should saye, we were not sure of frendes at home ». Quod I « Blame me not to wish after that ». « That I before have provided » sayth he « we are sure off 30 Knyghts, and a great many noblemen of England, and though they be not at the court, ye shall see them as stowt and as manly in fyld as they that be at Court. And Sir Peter

Caro allthoughe he be now with the King he is as sure on our syd, as I have you be the arm ; and ther is Mr. Bedell, and Mr. White who dayly doth convey men over at Southampton. This much I have disclosed unto you ; yf ye shold accuse me and those whom I have named, and that ye see us dye for the same, thynk you to escape ? No, no, there be who ye know not, shall with a dagg or a dagger sone dyspach you out of the way ». « No fayth » quod he, « I dowt the not, but as friend, I willed wysh thee fyrst to be slaine so that they might have their enterprise ». And so from that we fell to talk of the Dean of Westminster (1) who had punished one Rossey . . . » (endorsed « Hunnys notes on Dethick's charge) ».

In connection with this should be read Roger Carter's confession « Roger Carter of Westminster (2), servant to the Kynges Majesty, walking alone in the Sanctuary in the afternoon, John Dethicke met him in great haste and told him newes. The King would not return to England till £ 200,000 were sent to him. Another day one Allday, servant to the Lord Clinton, came unto him and sayd that he was desyred to open things unto him. There was a prize of money to be come by, as safely as might be. And I wyll tell you who wylled me to break yt with you, John Dethicke, your neighbour of Westminster, and willed me to tell you that Hinnewes was also privie to it, and they would take you to be one too. The next morning as he was going forth, Allday met him and asked him what he sayd of the matter that they had talked of the nyghte before, and he answered that he thought thereupon all night and slept but little, and thought there was no good in the conspiracy. And Allday answered he thought so too, then he said, Well Alday I pray you tell M. Dethicke that I wyll in no wise be partie or pryvie to any such matter, and I pray you, wyll both Hinnewes and hym to leave all such practices and enterprises. I think it be the Queenes money in the treasury you mean. If you goe any further, I will not keep it but disclose it ».

It has been necessary to illustrate the character of Hunnis, and shew his connection with the plot — to give these deposit-

(1) John Feckenham.
(2) *S. P. D. S.* Mary VIII. 73.

ions in full, because Froude and others did not read them, deterred by the trying handwriting, and the apparent unimportance of the examinate. The next paper however is so clearly written that every one knows of it. It is dated May 9th. 1556 (1), but must have been earlier, and is one of the cowardly confessions of Henry Peckham, who, not content with implicating all he could, to save himself, even repeated the conversations of his fellow-prisoners, overheard by him, in the dark cubicles of the Tower-prison. « A declaration of certain words spoken by Throgmorton, Hunnys, and Walpull, prysoners, by Henry Peckham, also prisoner ». Throgmorton had apparently been talking about Bethell, Dudley and Uvedale, who had promised to deliver them Hurst Castle in the Isle of Wight ard Portsmouth. He thought Uvedale being sickly, would for fear of the torture say that it was not his will. Throgmorton had been examined. He « said that one Stratford was a very faithful and honest man, and he feared he was in trouble through his means; but I beseech you Mr. Walpull, that ye will tell him I said nothing of hym, but the councell do charge me to suffer . . . But you know Mr. Walpull is a very honest man, and well lerned in all scyences, especially in philosophy. My masters I praye you to praye for me, for I shall not be longe to you, for I cannot lyve without I shold be the death of a number of gentlemen. Throgmorton said the first day he came into the tower he was in prison where one Derick (i. e. Dethick) was underneythe him, and he plucked up a loose board and required Derick that in any case he shold not be the destruction of others beside himself, for look how many you do attaint and how many you wilfully murder, and Derick sayed he shold do nothing but God had appoynted, and if God apoynted he sholde do it, there was no remedy, yet by more persuasion he was councelled to do as Throgmorton would; and Throgmorton asked him if he would abide the torment in the matter, and Derick said yea, whereupon Throgmorton did sup his porridge towards him in token of his truth. Notwithstanding this same Derick (2) hath deceived the said Throgmorton.

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(1) *S. P. D. S.* Mary VIII. 53.

(2) « And yet this varlet Dethick hath accused me » said Throgmorton. See *Verney Papers*, p. 68. Camden Soc. Publ. R. Ac. 8113/54.

« Mr. Walpull » said Throgmorton », tell Mr. Peckham that I drink to all the good fellowes at Arundell's, and I pray you also to ax of him what he thynketh of my cause, and the said Henry sayd it was treason, and ther was no way but God's mercy and the Queene's. And Throgmorton asked us to pray for him, and he said I praye you Mr. Walpull whether the Counsel may rack me or put me to my torment, and he sayd if it shall please them, then sayd Throgmorton I fear I shall be put to it. And I will assure you yt ys a sorryfull payne. This is all that ye sayd Henry at this tyme do remember of Throgmorton.

Signed Henry Peckham.

« Words spoken by *Hunnys* in the Tower of London. *Item*, the sayd *Hunnys* dothe declare that he is accused off one White, Bedell, Rossey, and Dericke, for the going about to convey away the Queene's treasures, and that he is accused that he would have brought in the Erle of Devonshire and that he shold be a doer in a mynt that should be in a Castell in France and the sayd *Hunnys* doth also declare that he dyd heer one young Bedell, an inheritor in Kent, accuse the sayd Hunnys as he was examined in the gallerye, and that the said young Bedell should determine to erect also a mynt in Kent. The sayd *Hunnys* dooth further declare that he dyd see one Garter, a herault of arms come into the Tower between two of the Lyftenant's men and as he supposed a prisoner, and he thought that the matter was for that young Bedell shuld have mortgaged £ 20 land to the sayd Garter for the erecting of hys mynt for ye sayd *Hunnys* dyd much dowt that he should come befoore the council for that matter.

Hunnys dyd further declare that as he came hyther to Rossey and thence to Derick that ther in hys garden the one of them, the which the sayd Henry doothe not remember, should say by Whyte and *Hunnys* that theeris the father the sonne and the Holly Gost, and the one of these shall be hanged ; and what furder talk he had of this matter the sayd Henry could not heer further. The sayd *Hunys* dooth declare that there ys a man of Christopher Chydleigh's, (which ys in France for the kylling of a man), that hys sayd servant was imprisoned underneath hym and that the sayd *Hynnis* dyd demand of hym what he was, and he declared that he was a servant of one Christo-

pher Chydleigh and that he was accused heer by one Danyell for bringing of letters from the Horseys, and that he was taken as he was going into France againe, and then the sayd *Hunnys* dyd demand of hym whyther he knew anythinge that was conteyned within the letters or no, and Chydleigh's man answered that he knew nothyng of the contents of the letters, but he dyd know matter suffycient, whych perhaps he would dysclose ; he furder declaryd to the sayd Hunnys that Sir Anthony Kyngston was sent for and that my Lord Chandos wold bring hym up within these 2 dayes and he sayd Chydleigh's man furder declared that there was fyfteen persons heer within the Tower for Danyell's matter. Furder the sayd *Hunnys* and Walpull dyd reson of purgatory, the content whereof he dyd not heer, but the sayd Henry dyd byd Walpull tell *Hunys* that there was 2 or 3 places of the Scriptures that dyd fully approbat purgatory, and therewith allso the sayd Henry dyd allege a place of Saynt Jerome's which was thys « Sunt quedam pecata quae non sunt remisse neq; in hoc seculo nec in futuro », and thus the matter was fynyshed between them, and thys is all that I do remember that the sayd *Hunnys* hath spoken », signed « Henry Peckham » (dated May 9th. in Calendar, but from the trial this report must be earlier). Apparently Hunnis was examined (1) 30th. March 1556, at once about this and merely stated the truth concerning the conversation through the boards between him and a new prisoner, who wanted to know where Daniell lay. « Not near us », said Hunnis « What is laid to thy charge ? » « The conveying of letters » said Chidley's man, and Hunnis told him he had better confess all he knew. This is endorsed Hunnis of Burye (i. e. Chidley's man). William Bury's examination is given later, 16th. April (2).

William Stanton, examined on April 10th (3), acknowledged that he had sheltered Dudley some days in his house at Smithfield. He knew some of the conspirators but they never told him anything.

On April 11th. there was a long confession elicited from

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(1) *S. P. D. S.* Mary VII. 43.
(2) *S. P. D. S.* Mary VIII. 12.
(3) *S. P. D. S.* Mary VIII. 4 & 5.

Daniell (1). He had come to town three weeks after Christmas with Lord Grey, Dudley was outlawed for debt, and dare not come into the city and prayed Daniell to let him lodge in his house outside of the Liberty. He and Dudley, Cornwall, Ashton, and Bedell went to Arundel's to supper, and played primero till 11 o'clock. When Daniell came home he found Dudley asleep, but about 2 o'clock in the morning he came into his bedroom, and asked him if he would like to go over to France and share his fortunes. Daniell said there were only three ways for such as he to get on, the Court, the Army, and Marriage, and he expected the last. Mr. Henry Peckham was to help him in this by introducing him to a widow named Mrs. Clarke. Ashton, Horsey, Cornwall and Bedell came next night and urged him to go with Dudley. He promised to go on Tuesday, and on the Monday between, Lord Grey sent for him to go to see the folks burnt in Smithfield. But he was not able to go, as landing at St. Paul's Wharf, he fell and broke the splinter bone of his leg. Dudley said «God did not love him to take from him his companion» and the others came to his bedside and borrowed his horse and his clothes. On April 18th. (2) Daniell gave information about disagreements in France. An examination of Dethicke on April 18th, (3) further implicated Carter, Sir Thomas Cawarden and Powell, who had planned to *stay the treasure.* On the same day John Throgmorton (4) was again examined, he confessed all that he knew was known ; but said he did not know anything about Smith or Randall or Ashton, and had had nothing to do with the French Ambassador. Finding it useless to torture him further, they hastened his trial.

On 20th. April, William Harris (5), a Captain Gunner, was examined before the Privy Council of « certen lewde wordes he had spoken upon Maundy Thursday last, in an Alehouse at Detforde, viz : The Queene hath given this daye a great Almes and given that away that should have paid us our wages, she hath undone us, and hath undone the realme, for she loveth

(1) *S. P. D. S.* Mary VII. 64 and Mary VIII. 6.
(2) *S. P. D. S.* Mary VIII. 7.
(3) *S. P. D. S.* Mary VIII. 13.
(4) *S. P. D. S.* Mary VIII. 14.
(5) Harl. MS. 643. Orders of Council.

another realme better than this ». But he seems to have had no connection with the plot. He is however an illustration of the class of people that the conspirators reckoned to rise upon their call.

St. George's Day was a busy day at the Tower. The Clerk collected statements about Fernando Lygins (1) ; made notes from White about Uvedale (2) ; heard a confession of Uvedale (3), and made memoranda for the council concerning Daniell, Lygins, Turner and Stanton (4). The latter had received advice for his conduct at the rack (5), « first to cry a little, then a little more, then to say in the honor of God, he wold say what you will have me say, if you will save me, and then to make yourself in the most dolorous wise you can ». Many were examined under the new light received (6). Certain queries were put to Daniell (7), who persistently disclaimed much intimacy with the conspirators. « As they talked of the prisoners » I said « Alas, poor Bethell, thou art undone, for thy fishing is lost. This is the second time his viages were staid by imprisonment ». He named, as frequenting Arundel's House, Courtenay, Pollard, Chamberlain, Throgmorton, Perrot, young Peckham and many others. On the same day (8) he wrote to the council volunteering further information, complaining of his miserable condition and entreating to be removed to better quarters. He was ill, in a filthy dungeon, among newts and spiders (9). Two other letters follow. His desire to excuse himself, his explanation that he only pretended to break his leg so as to avoid going with Dudley, seem to have only aroused further suspicions. Surgeon Blacklock (10) was exa-

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(1) *S. P. D. S.* Mary VIII. 22, 23, 24, 25.
(2) *Ibid.*
(3) *Ibid.*, 26.
(4) *Ibid.*, 27.
(5) *Ibid.*, 28.
(6) *Ibid.*, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34.
(7) *Ibid.*, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 45.
(8) *Ibid.*
(9) See plan of the Tower. Harl MS. 13, 26, and Bayley's *History of the Tower*. The Broad Arrow Tower first floor, one dismal chamber, and a small cell 6 ft. long, 3 or 4 ft. wide off it. This bears the name of « John Daniell 1556 ».
(10) *S. P. D. S.* Mary Appendix VII. 49.

mined as having dressed the pretended fracture. He acknowledged that he had done so, but did not know why he had been asked.

An old confession of Throgmorton (1) about Turner too, involved him in the plot.

On April 30th. (2) there was a statement by Sir Robert Peckham made about his brother Henry, who afterwards confessed more concerning Dudley, repeating conversations, and explaining facts, intended to exculpate him. Another confession by Henry Peckham (3) is entered as « May 9th. » a queried date, which must be much earlier. He told about the particulars of the western plot to send the Queen's Highness over the sea, to make the Lady Elizabeth Queen, and marry her to the Earl of Devonshire. He specially told the story of Sir Anthony Kingston, his advice to copy the Kings will, for « there is matter sufficient to our purpose ». The token between them was the half each of a silver penny. Peckham regretted the possible loss of his lands. Anthony told him it would all be made up to him. « For I tell you true that the Lady Elizabeth is a goodly liberal dame, & nothing so unthankfull as her sister is, & she taketh this liberality of her mother, who was one of the bountifullest women. For thou hast served the unthankfullest mistress on the erth, and all she has done has been agaynst her father and her brother or else to our sweet Lady Elizabeth », « I bade him not mistrust me ».

While this deposition is calendared at too late a date, another which acts as a corollary is calendared much too early, indeed it is placed *2 years* too soon. It is the Declaration of Thomas Wheyton (4) servant to Henrie Peckham Esquire, to the Kings and Queenes Majesties most honourable Council, stating that his master had copied the will. « Item. That my master, eyther coming from the temple to hys fathers howse or goyng from there towards the temple by water, delivered to me the coppie of the late Kinge Henry theyghtes wyll saying, kepe that same sayfe, and let no man looke in it,

(1) *S. P. D. S.* 48.
(2) *Ibid.*, Mary VIII. 46.
(3) *Ibid.*, 52.
(4) *S. P. D. S.* Mary IV. 39.

I not knowing what yt was, neyther had I ever seen yt before that tyme. And as far as I can remember the said wyll was delivered to me by my master, neer abowt the beginning of Lent, the very tyme certayn I kno not, and beyng desirous to rede the same, I dyd peruse yt over by myself alone in my chamber, part that same night and the rest in the morning following, without perceyving of any notes or signes in the margent as ar now to be shewyd.

Item. the sayd wyll hath remayned since that tyme in a basket among other wrytyngs in the chamber, wher I and other thre of my fellows laye, usyng the same baskett allso, to put in ower apparell and other necessaries so much as yt nowe holds, having to the same neyther loke nor keye ».

Mrs. Ashley (1), Elizabeth's governess, was examined but denied knowing anything. Henry Wasse (2) knew a little about Sir Ralph Bagnold, and prayed release. Daniell (3) informed upon Verney on May 28th. Baptista (4) the Luter, was able to prove that his « foreign correspondence » only concerned lute-strings for Court music, and Sir John Saintlow (5) denied any connection whatever with the plot.

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(1) *S. P. D. S.* Mary VIII. 54.
(2) *Ibid.*, 55.
(3) *Ibid.*, 77.
(4) *Ibid.*, 80.
(5) *Ibid.*, 81.

CHAPTER VI.

TRIALS AND EXECUTIONS.

After a month of secret examination and re-examination, of torturing prisoners under suggestions of what they should say; the Council felt themselves sufficiently primed with evidence, to take the people into their confidence, by instituting a public trial. Not that the trials of these days had any resemblance to our own.

There was no counsel for the accused, no public examination of the witnesses, no due consideration of a prisoner's plea. The verdict was a foregone conclusion, only *influence* could avail any one. Yet they went through all due *forms* of justice. They commenced with Throgmorton and Uvedale, (Dethicke was associated with them at first) and issued the special commission of Oyer and Terminer, April 18th. (1); the order being given that the grand jury should be returned for the 20th, the trial to be at Southwark on the 21st. The indictment is a long one, containing certain facts not preserved among the examinations; so it may be supposed they were based on information contained in the missing folios of White's deposition. The main charge of John Throgmorton, late of London, gentleman, and Richard Uvedale, late of Chilling in the County of Southampton, Esquire, was that they had compassed the death of the Queen, both in London, and at Chilling, the house of Richard Uvedale; that John Throgmorton, together with Dudley and Ashton, in the Parish of St. Martin's Orgar, Candlewick Street, « conspired not only to deprive the King and Queen of their royal dignity but to cause their death; that Richard Uvedale helped them to ships to transport them to France, and having the Custody of the Royal Castle of Yarmouth in the Isle of Wight had promised to help them on their return.

(1) Baga de Secretis. Pouch. No. 33. Membranes 9, 5, 7, 8, 6.

That Throgmorton, with Dethicke and others on the 16th March, met, and took oath they would be faithful to one another, Throgmorton then speaking in English the treasonable words « If any of us be accused by any man, let us revyle him and stand earnestly against him, but I trust it shall never come out, for I had rather my dagger were in her heart (i. e. the Queen's) and all her Councils' ». Throgmorton and Uvedale were brought to the bar (1) on Tuesday 21st April, by Sir Henry Bedingfield, Lieutenant of the Tower. « They both pled not guilty. Verdict of guilty awarded instantly, as usual in cases of High Treason. Execution to be at Tyburn ». Machyn has it in his quaint diary : « The 21st. day of Aprill cam from the Towre over London Bryge unto the sessyonnse House in Southwark and there arrayned and cast to be drane and quartered for a conspiracy against the Queen and odur matters John Frogmorton and Master Wodall, Captain of the Isle of Whythe, the accusars Master Rossey, Master Bedyle, and Master Dethycke (2) ».

On April 24th the Dean of St. Pauls (3) was sent to Throgmorton, to bid him prepare for death, but he gave the prisoner some hope for his life if he gave his friends just occasion to be anxious for it. Whereunto Throgmorton's answer was « that if his lyffe stoode therein he was but a dead man », and signified that he would rather die than reveal anything or desert any man. Mr. Dean then asked him the names of the men, and the meaning of the ciphers, and he refused to tell. He however asked the Dean to procure him respite for a month, that he might be better able to die. He was only 28, and full of life and strength. He would rather have lived. But he preferred death to the dishonour of becoming an informer. He alone seems to have known the names of the members of the various groups of men that had concerned themselves in special departments of the general plot. Had he acted otherwise, we may be sure the list of prisoners would have been indefinitely longer. Men in high places might have felt themselves safer when Throg-

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(1) Baga De Secretis. Pouch 33. Mem. 1 & 2. Record of Sessions. Surrey.
(2) *Machyn's Diary*. See also Appendix II. 4th. Rep. Deputy Keeper Pub. Records.
(3) *S. P. D. S.* Mary VIII. 21.

morton died. He was spared but a few days. « The 28th of April was drane from the Tower of London to Tyborne, 2 gentilmen, on ys name was Master Waddell Captain of the Yle of Wyth, and the odur Master John Frogmorton, and so hangyd, and after cut down and quartered, and the morowe after thyr heads set on London Brygge (1) ».

Dethick, we see, was withdrawn from this first group tried in Southwark, but immediately afterwards, on the 24th April he was indicted at Westminster, in company with Bethell and Rossey. We should naturally have expected William Hunnis to have stood beside these men, both on account of his connection with their designs, and of his residence in Westminster. Their indictment (2) runs thus « that they did conspire with John Throgmorton, to depose the King and Queen, and that they with him on the 16th March, broke into and entered into the Receipt of the Exchequer, wherein treasure to the amount of £ 50.000 was then deposited, and lifted and weighed one of the chests containing the treasure : That they conspired how they might break open the chests and carry the treasure through the garden of William Rossey to the Thames and thence in a Crayer to France, to Henry Dudley and Christopher Ashton ».

After the usual formalities, they were brought to the Bar by the Constable of the Tower, were severally arraigned, but all tried together. Bethell (3) pled guilty. Dethick and Rossey pled not guilty, but before the jury retired, Dethick altered his mind and pled guilty. They were all found guilty, judgment as usual in cases of high treason. They only had a week of grace. Machyn says « The 9th. of June was drane from the Tower unto Tyborn 3 gentilmen for a conspiracie, Master Rosey, Master Bedyll, and Master Dethycke, and ther hangyd and quartered, and their quarters beried. Master Rosys hed over London Brygge, and Bedell's hed over Ludgatt, and Master Dethycke's over Althergatt ».

The general indictment of the remainder on the 29th of April recited all these previous statements, and also « that on the

(1) *Machyn's Diary*.
(2) Baga de Secretis. Pouch 35, Membrane 7.
(3) Late of Beaconsfield in the County of Bucks, Clothier.

28th January, Dudley, Ashton, and Throgmorton, in the Parish of St. Giles without Cripplegate, communicated with *John Fountayne*, late of London gent, otherwise *John Bartovyle*, an alien and the Queen's enemy, and he promised to help them, and they agreed that John Fountayne, Dudley, Ashton, Horsey, Cornwall, Tremayne, Richard Ryth, Roger Renolds, John Dale, John Calton, and Edward Turnour should cross beyond the seas, coin money there resembling English coins, and return and wage war against the King and Queen. Further that Christopher Ashton the Elder and Henry Peckham, on the 30th Jan., at the mansion house of Sir Edmund Peckham near Blackfriars, in the Ward of Castle Baynard, did consult on their treason, and Christopher Ashton said to Thomas Whyte then present : « See ye this man (meaning Henry Peckham), he will help us with a great number, both of noblemen and gentlemen, when they know we shall be in a readiness ; for the Queen usurpeth the crown, and hath broken her father's will ; and he hath promised me a copy of the will ».

« This copy did Henry Peckham deliver to Christopher Ashton the 1st of February, with his name signed at bottom, and his notes on the margin, and the other traitors agreed that the Queen had usurped the Crown and took their departure beyond the seas to carry their purpose into effect ». In this general charge was included « *Thomas* Hinnewes gent » a correction being over the name. It is strange that he should have been grouped with Peckham, Daniell, Stanton, and Turner, in their trial, rather than with Dethicke and Bethell, with whom he seemed to have been so much more associated, and a permanent puzzle is the error in the name. This trial was appointed to be held in Guildhall (1), and the Lord Mayor, and some of the Aldermen were associated with the usual officials, in the special commission of Oyer and Terminer appointed to try Henry Peckham, John Danyell, William Stanton, *Thomas Hinnewes* (2) and Edward Turnour on May

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(1) Baga de Secretis, Pouch 34, Membrane 15, 14, 13, 18.

(2) By neglecting to follow the course of events, the Editor of the Verney papers p. 70, states that « Henry Peckham, John Daniell, William Stanton, Thomas Hinnewes, & Edward Turnour » were the next to suffer.

5th. But the writ of *certiorari*, 6th May, addressed to the Justices to return the indictments, only included Peckham, Danyell, Stanton, and the Constable of the Tower was ordered to bring up these three on the 7th May (1). But only the chief two were brought before the judges at Guildhall on that day. They pled not guilty, but were instantly condemned, execution to be had at Tyborn. The session of the Court was adjourned to 12th May, for the trial of William Stanton (2). Machyn records « on the 12th of May was raynyd William Stanton, sumtyme Captayn, and cased to be drane from the Towere unto Tyburne and hangyd and quartered for a conspirace against the King and Queene and odur maters... The 19th day of Maye was drane from the Tower unto Tyborne Captain William Stantun and there hangyd and quartered & yshed set on London Brygge the morrow after ». Strong interest was being made by Sir Edmund Peckham for his son Henry, in which Sir Robert joined. It is touching to note the regularity of their attendance at the Council meetings. It was generally believed they would be successful. The examiners believed Danyell knew more than he did, and were willing to keep him longer in his miserable dungeon. But how had Hunnis dropped out of that woful group ? Had he been erroneously entered as *Thomas* by some mere accidental slip of the pen ? Or through some confused association in the Clerk's mind with Thomas Eynnis the Clerk of the Council for the North, a royal pensioner ? Or merely through the misreading of the vile handwriting of the Clerk who wrote the notes of the affair ? Or was it an intentional and skilful ruse by some friend, in spite of the culprit's clear signature ? It is probable that the mistake in the Christian name gave some legal reason for delay, sufficient for the correction of the indictment, and it is possible that the Earl of Pembroke, his old master, was still sufficiently the friend of William to take advantage of that delay, without attracting attention to the result. It is possible some little discussion had arisen

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(1) Baga de Secretis, Pouch 34, Membranes 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 16, 17.

(2) He had been tried on the 15th. Feb. 1553 4 as an accomplice of Wyat's, but had been pardoned.

concerning the group of men with whom he should have been classed or that a resident in Westminster, might claim to be tried there.

On the 2nd of June, the same day as the Westminster trial, a precept was addressed to the Constable of the Tower to bring up the body of Edward Turner to the Guildhall on the 18th June. With him that day was associated a new fellow-prisoner, Master Francis Verney (1), who had not been entered in the original list. Machyn has it : « The 18th day of June (2) was rayned at Yeld Hall for a conspiracie, Master Francis Verney and Captain Torner, and they cast to be drane hangyd & quartered ».

The Venetian Ambassador (3) wrote home on June 23rd. « The Lady Elizabeth's servant, who confessed to have known of the plot, and the Captain of the Soldiers, Turner, are not yet executed, deferred perhaps to gain more information from them ». But the Tower bills (4) record « for the dyett of Edward Turnour gent, for 24 weeks and 5 days, beginning the 17th of March 1555 and ending the 10th day of October, at 13/4 the week. £ 19. 16. 2 ». « Item for the dyett of Francis Verney, Esquire, for XIX weekes & 2 days beginning the 30th of May and ending the 10th of October (5) then next following at 17/2 the weeke for himselfe, and 5/ the week for his man ».

Another prisoner was introduced that month, « The last day of Juin (6) was led from the Towre unto Yeld Halle, William West (7) Squyre, odurwyse called Lord de la Ware and cast of the treason to be drane and quartered ». The Venetian Ambassador as usual adds a little information. « On the 30th June the Lord de la Ware was condemned to death, and was

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(1) See *Verney Papers*, Camden Society Publ. p. 52.
(2) *Machyn's Diary*.
(3) *Venetian State Papers*.
(4) Sir Henry Bedingfield's reckoning Q. R. Ph. & Mary 924. 17.
(5) This date ends the annual account.
(6) *Machyn's Diary*.
(7) He seems to have been shortly after pardoned. He was restored in blood in Elizabeth's reign in 1562. He was the nephew and heir of Thomas, Lord de la Ware, but being impatient to enjoy his inheritance, he prepared a cup of poison for his uncle. It was discovered, and he had been deprived of the power of succeeding to the title or estate, 2 Ed. VI. This also was restored to him under Elizabeth.

to have been executed 2 days after, together with the two men sentenced a long while ago, Harry Peckham and John Danyell, who, till now have been in hopes of pardon, for after the populace and officials had collected to witness their execution, it was delayed, and is now expected to-morrow ».

The abject appeals, and multiplied informations poured forth by Daniell and Peckham, were not able to save them. Even the great services of Sir Edmund Peckham were not considered sufficient to reckon against the wrongs committed by his son Henry. The delays that raised their hopes, were cruel kindnesses. The utmost that could be granted Sir Edmund was, that his son should be spared some of the indignities of a traitor's death. For some reason or other, Daniell was to share in this advantage. They were to be executed on Tower Hill instead of Tyburn, and they were not to be dismembered. « The 7th. day of July was hangyd on the galous on Tower Hylle for treason against the Queen one Master Hare Peckham, and thodur Master John Daneel, and after cutt down & hedded, and their hedes cared unto London Bryge and ther sett up, and their bodies buried at All Hallowes Barkynge ». The Venetian tells his countrymen on July 14th : « Of the three individuals sentenced to death, only two were executed, and being of noble birth, on Tower Hill, instead of Tyborn, and made so Christian an end that those hearing were affected to tears ».

Of the other, William West, we have Sir Henry Bedingfield's note « for the diet of William West, Lord Delaware for 14 weeks and 2 dayes beginning the 28th of May and ending the 10th of October, at 23/4 for himselfe and 5/, a week for his man, £ 27. 10. 5 $^{1}/_{2}$ ».

A curious letter was written by the Privy council on the 30th July to Mr Toope, apparently in the Household of the Lady Elizabeth, asking him to acquaint her with the « divelish practices attempted by Dudley, Ashton, and other traitors in France for the disturbance of the quiet of the realm. They have now lastely sent over one Cleberye to the extreme part of Essex and Suffolke, where naming himself to be the Earle of Devonshire, by spreading abroad of slanderous letters and proclamations he hath abused the Lady Elizabeth's name » (Cotton

MS. Titus. B. II 74). He had indeed proclaimed Courtenay and Elizabeth, as King and Queen; a belated action, part of an exploded plot, which only brought on himself swift destruction, and trouble on his friends. There is no allusion to Cleber's action in the State Papers at the Public Record Office. But he proclaimed Elizabeth and Courtenay at Ipswich (1), and he and all his accomplices were drawn, hanged and quartered. Speed, p. 1128, says he was a schoolmaster at Dis in Norfolk, and in the Parish Church of Yarle read a proclamation urging the people « to free the land of wrongs done by strangers ».

Then the Killigrews and their party were secured. They were treated as pirates, though they did not consider themselves as such. They only attacked *Spanish* ships. The State Papers preserve (2) the examinations of Peter Killigrew in regard to the intended English invasion and promised aid from France; his dealings with Dudley Ashton, the Tremaynes, and Horseys, and his fitting and arming two ships to plunder Spanish vessels.

The Venetian Ambassador wrote on August 18th : « The brother of pirate Killigrew was tortured in the Tower ». On Sept. 15th : « Twenty four pirates lately captured condemned to death at Southampton (3) ». Of these the Privy Council (4) wrote on the 30th : « The Lordes finde it strange, that only Thompson and four more of the pyrates taken with him are condemned. There must be either partiality in the Jury, or negligence in the evidence. He must send up the evidence, and continue the bond of Jury till the Queen's pleasure be known ».

These were the last of the executions for this plot. Mary's natural clemency prevailed. Still we hear occasionally in the Council Registers, and the State Papers of prisoners in consequence of implication. One of these, Sir Thomas Cawarden, Master of the Revels, and of the Tents and Pavilions to Henry VIII, was included in some of the confessions, as having

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(1) See Strype, *Eccles. Hist.* III. 336. Carte's *Hist.* III. 327, Burnet's *History of the Reformation.* Part II. Book II. p. 563. Harl. MS. 537 (25) and (109) tells about Cleber.

(2) *S. P. D. S.* Mary x, 23, 24, 25, 26.

(3) The Venetian Ambassador's letter to the Senate. *S. P.* Ven. Cal. p. 571.

(4) *Acts of the Privy Council.* Letters to Sir William Godolphin 27th Aug. and 30th Sept. 1556.

planned to prevent the treasure going over to Philip. He is one of the few mentioned in the Acts of the Privy Council. On 7th July, 1556, « Sir Thomas Cawarden discharged of his former band and licensed to return home ». Yet again so late as 14th June, 1557, there is an entry. « Whereas Sir Thomas Cawarden hath been heretofore, for his misbehaviour to the State committed to the Fleet, as he hath remayned a good time there, and hath made no manner of submission, nor knowledged his offence, which sorte of obstinacy is not to be passed over without reformation, the Lords decided he should be committed to the Close prison of the Fleet, with only one servant ». This is interesting in regard to the history of the Revels (1). It is curious that his successor in office should have been his companion in trouble. On the 5th. June 1555, the Privy Council made a minute to examine Benger, Cary, Dye, and Field upon such points in their confession as they think fit. On the 30th April, 1557, they note « Sir Thomas Benger and Robert Hutton, his chamber Keeper, sent up by the Sheriff of Hertford to close prison in the Fleet ».

And on the 26th of June the Privy Council orders « Thomas Bridges, Sheriff of Oxford to deliver to Sir Thomas Benger, or such as he shall appoint for that purpose, all such stuffe as remaineth in his house at Wilton in the said county of Oxford by inventory, taking sufficient Bonds that the same shall be delivered to the King & Queen again, if the said Sir Thomas Benger's case shall not fall well out ».

Of him there is a strange notice in the State Papers Sir Leonard Chamberlain (2) writes to the Queen on 12th July 1557 : « As to Sir Thomas Benger's case, unless my Lord Chancellor see that your laws pass without corruption in my absence, it is likely that he will be acquitted. I consider not my slander, as much as the example that felons should be so borne out : so that the justice of your laws first takes place, I am not against mercy afterwards ». So his crime would hardly seem to have

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(1) Cawarden had had a grant from Henry VIII. of the Church & Precincts of the Blackfriars, part of which his trustee, Sir William More, in 1596, sold to Richard Burbage for a Theatre. Cawarden was a Protestant. See Loseley M. S.

(2) *S. P. D. S.* Mary. Addenda VIII. 21.

been treason. But on the 26th Sept. 1557, the Council write « to spare one Herberte in Newgate under sentence of execution, to hear what he has to tell of the treason, if anything ».

Philip came back to England on 20th March 1556-7 and stayed until the 5th July 1557. Possibly his visit was the exciting cause of an independent and belated effort of the conspirators abroad to rouse the country against him. Thomas Stafford, second son of Lord Stafford, and nephew of Cardinal Pole, opposing the wishes of all his family (1) had gone abroad with Dudley, Horsey, and Ashton. But it would seem that he acted independently even of these, when he came over and took Scarborough Castle in Yorkshire. He was defeated and taken prisoner by Thomas Percy (2), afterwards Earl of Northumberland, and other noblemen of the North. Machyn tells us that on the 3rd of May, 5 persons were sent to the Tower, « who had taken Scarborow, Thomas Stafford, Captain Saunders, Seywelle, Prowther and a Frenchman ». On 22nd May, the Englishmen, and on the 23rd May, the Frenchman, were tried and condemned. On the 28th May, Thomas Stafford was beheaded (3) on Tower Hill, the others hanged at Tyburn, but the Frenchman was reprieved, for on Oct 7th the Privy Council interviewed him (4). The Ballad of « Scarborowe Castle » is preserved in the Harleian Miscellany X, with its refrain from an old proverb « Take Scarborowe warnings every one ».

The Cotton MS. Titus B. II. 77 referred to in last chapter, *may* fit in here, though this date has also its difficulties. « I being at Roan met and conferred with N. who declared that Dudley had intelligence with divers within Guisnes and Hanmes ». « Seven weeks passed Dudley hath practised with the French King and Constable about that matter, who fynde the same verie good, and wold have Dudley proceede therein, and for that

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(1) See Henry Wasse's Confession *S. P. D. S.* Mary VIII. 19.

(2) *S. P. D. S.* Mary. Addenda VIII. 3. 4. Elsewhere given as Henry, Earl of Westmoreland. Cuthbert Bishop of Durham supports his action, and encloses his letter recounting his services concerning Scarborough, adding, « I will spend my life in the King & Queen's service ». May 2nd, 1557.

(3) Speed's *Chronicles* 1128.

(4) John Heywood writes « The traiterous taking of Scarborowe Castle ».

purpose hath rewarded him, and such as he hath about him, with great gyftes. Sins that tyme Dudley hath drawn this N. to Guisnes & Hanmes, who hath in a secret place nigh thereunto, conferred with the said conspirators ». « Dudley knoweth there is not vitaill in Guisnes for 20 days ». « This N. cometh thither again very shortly to conferre with them again », « with a bill of artycles he will gette signed with their hands and then fynde the meanes to sende the same unto my master ». « He will by no meanes name any of them, until he have gotten such prufe as he hath spoken of. He hath dyvers letters & wryghtings, as well written from the late Earle of Devonshire, as from Dudley and other, which, being of importance, he will fynde the meanes by some secret ways to deliver to my master ». « Dudley hath authoritie to remain and put whome he list into the pensions granted to Englishmen, chiefly the Ashtons and the Horseys, & hath already put over Colby ».

On the 23rd Nov. 1556, the Privy Council wrote to Lord Wharton, that the Queen, by sundrie means had been advertysed not only of the likelihood of the breach of truce between the Kings Majesty & the French King, but also that Dudley and other traitors beyond the seas goe about some practice against Hampnes and Guisnes, and he is advised to stand upon his guard (Harl. MS. 643). This seems to fix the date at this stage.

Elizabeth, who had been « vehemently suspected » in relation to the Wyat rising, was more carefully watched than ever now. It was no easy post to be one of her servants, they were always being arrested on some words, or on some suspicion (1). None of them however came to the block. Thomas Heywood (1605) in his « If you know not me, you know nobody », treats of « The Troubles of Queen Elizabeth » at this time, in the form of a private trial.

« Chanc. What answer you to Wyat's late rebellion?
Madam, 'tis thought that you did set them on?

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(1) Even her chief attendant, Mrs. Ashley was arrested, though she said she knew nothing of the plot but by common report. *S. P. D. S.* Mary VIII. 55. « On Oct. 19th. Mrs. Ashley, the governess of the Lady Elizabeth was released, but forbidden to go near her Ladyship again ». Michiel to the Doge of Venice.

Eliza. Who is't will say so ? Men may much suspect,
But yet (my Lord) none can my life detect.
I, a confederate with those Kentish rebels ?
If I ere saw or sent to them, let the King take my head !
Hath not proud Wyate suffred for his office [offence ?]
And in the purging both of soul and bodie for heaven
Did Wyate then accuse Elizabeth ?
Sus. Madam he did not.
Eliza. My reverend Lord, I know it.
How. Madam, he would not.
Eliza. Oh my good Lord, he could not. | Hall,
Sus. The same day Throgmorton was arraigned in the Guild
It was imposde on him whether this Princess had a hand
With him or no ; he did deny it,
Cleered her fore his death, yet accusde others.
Eliza. My God be praisde, this is news but of a minute olde !
Chan. What answere you to Sir Peter Carow in the West,
The Westerne rebels.
Eliza. Aske the unborn Infant ».

Camden (1) says « that the consultations against Elizabeth were diverted from her by the war against the French » ; and that one of the plausible reasons given for it, was the treason of Dudley and Ashton against Queen Mary.

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(1) Camden's *Annals of Queen Elizabeth.*

CHAPTER VII.

HUNNIS AND THE BRIGHAMS. 1558.

In the war with France, stirred up by Mary's wrath at the aid given by its king to the Conspirators, Calais was lost. The series of misfortunes that had rained on her ever since her marriage ; the sufferings of her poorer people through bad seasons, wrecked trade, and heavy taxation ; the openly expressed discontent of all, at the way things were managed by her husband, her ministers and herself, oppressed her spirits, and this national loss of power and prestige finally crushed her. After six months illness, poor unfortunate Mary breathed her last on the 17th November 1558 ; « a princess (1) never sufficiently to be commended, of a holy behaviour to all, of great piety towards the poor, and liberality to the clergy and nobility ».

It was a sickly season when Mary died, and the death-rate was high. Cardinal Pole died the evening of the same day as his royal friend and cousin (2).

It was the very day that the prorogued Parliament met. « The Commons (3) were summoned to the House of Lords, to hear something of importance, and they were told that God had taken away the Queen from them, but had given them another, that was the Lady Elizabeth ». The new Queen was at Hatfield, but was proclaimed in the city before noon, and the joybells rang in the afternoon. The next day being Friday, was quiet, but on Saturday « Te Deum Laudamus » was being sung in all the Churches (4).

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(1) Camden's *Annals of Elizabeth*.

(2) His faithful friend and secretary Michael Throgmorton had died at the beginning of the same month, and the Emperor died in less than three weeks after his daughter-in-law.

(3) See The Common's Journal.

(4) Strype's *History of the Reformation*. Burnet, II. 594.

« She was thus left, who saw the realme (1) not phillipped but fleeced for Philip's sake ». It was well for all that Philip was out of the country. Elizabeth peaceably, without plot or plan, without struggle or rival, succeeded to the inheritance of her father (2), and she lay at the Tower a Queen, who had been confined there a prisoner. Her long patience and many anxieties, which had done so much to chasten her elastic spirits, had also endeared her to the people. « She had purchased prudence and judgment, farre above the capacity of her age (3) ». She was an Englishwoman to the backbone, and men had no fear of Spanish Philip then. At her coronation on Jan. 14th, 1558-9, Oglethorpe, Bishop of Carlisle, Dean of the Chapel Royal, acted instead of the Primate, for Canterbury was vacant, and instead of the Bishop of London, who was in prison, thinking no doubt, somewhat sadly now, of the unwisdom of his ways.

The advent of Elizabeth changed the aspect of everything. She « released all Mary's captives, and restored liberty to the free born » ; she welcomed the gifts of the Bible, and spoke of liberty of conscience, but she made no rapid changes.

There is no further notice of William Hunnis the traitor (even under the name of Thomas) after the 5th May 1556, and he probably lay in the Tower, neglected, miserable and anxious. The companions he once spoke with through the doors of his cell, had gone forth, some to the block, some to other cells, and some to liberty. He does not seem to have had much money, or many relatives, and in those days, if prisoners were not able to pay their own expenses, they learned the difference between comparative comfort, and misery. Doubtless in the solitary dark days that followed his indictment, there welled forth from his heart in earnest, the « seven sobbes of a sorrowful soul for sinne ». After a time of suffering, not less than six months, and not more than two and a half years, but sufficient to whiten his hair, and make him old before his time, he was

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(1) *Harl. Mise.* Vol. X. « Aylmer's Harborowe of the Faithful ».

(2) Even more, for she was proclaimed « Empress from the Orcade Isles, unto the Mountains Pyrenee ». See Miss Strickland's *Life*, VI. 165. Dean Stanley's *Westminster*, p. 72 and Planché, p. 47.

(3) Camden's *Annals* 1558.

unexpectedly released. It is not clear how it happened, but his own verses give a graphic, if not brilliant picture of the sudden change in his condition.

Being in trouble, he writeth thus. (1)

« In terrour's trap with thraldome thrust,
My soule then to repentance ranne,
My ragged clothes all rent and borne,
And did bewaile the loss it wanne,
With loathsome life, so long forlorne
And said O God, yet thou art he
That can and will deliver me.

Then comfort came, with clothes of joy,
Whose seams were faithfull steadfastness,
And did bedeck the naked boy
That earst was full of wretchednesse
And saide be glad, for God is he
That shortly will deliver thee ».

His lines do not suggest a hard-won pardon, but a sudden deliverance, full and free ; a watchful and faithful friend to bring him the good news, and garments fit to wear abroad. It is most probable that his release came with the accession of Elizabeth, and the weather was severe at the end of November 1558, so that « clothes » were doubly welcome. William Hunnis on his deliverance, seems to have stepped back into his old office in « the Chapel ». There is no patent for his re-appointment, but we find him there, in the next notices we have of him.

Free and without fear ! outside of the black Tower Walls ! Probably the first visit of his freedom was to Nicholas Brigham, to crave pardon of him, for any personal injury the conspirators did to him, when they aimed at Mary's treasury. One can imagine the upright Teller of the Exchequer for a moment sorely perplexed how to receive him. But one glance would soften his heart, as he saw the young man, so changed by suffering, gaunt, hollow-eyed, his bright hair flecked with

(1) *Paradise of Dainty Devices*. N° 93 in Ed. 1596.

white (1). And the chance of war had changed. Hunnis was on the winning side now. The *conspirators* of the one reign became the *patriots* of the next. Elizabeth's Hunnis was no *traitor* after all. And, foreseeing the end of his own life, Nicholas Brigham would know it was a time doubly to forgive. He was ill with a mortal disease. He had never held up his head since his darling little Rachel had died the year before (on 21st. June 1557). The memory of this little girl has been so much associated with the tomb of Chaucer raised by her father, that it may be interesting to some to know the result of my researches on a statement that no one has hitherto questioned. In Dart's « Westminster », and other notices based thereon, it is stated that « Nicholas Brigham was probably buried by Chaucer's tomb, *because* he had buried his daughter there « as appears by the inscription visible in Mr. Camden's time but now gone (2) ». « Unica quae fueram proles spesque alma parentis Hoc Rachel Brigham condita sum tumulo. Vixi Annos quatuor, mensibus tribus, diebus quatuor, horis 15 ».

Through some strange error, the death of this dearly loved daughter is recorded in the Register Books of St. Margaret's, Westminster, *under another Christian name*, 22nd June 1557 « Sara Briggam, of a burning ague ». She is one of the few whose fatal illness was described. That « Sara » is really an error for « Rachel » can be proved in two ways, by the record of her christening, and by the records of the expenses of her burial, in the Churchwarden's accounts (3). Doubtless the clerk caught the name as that of a Patriarch's wife, and confused one for the other. Among « the crystenings » of St. Margaret's, appears on the 19th March 1552, the name of « Rachael Brigham ». The difference between the two dates, is four years, three months and three days, so that she must have been christened very shortly after her birth, and buried shortly after her death. In the Churchwarden's accounts from the 16th May, 2 and 3 Philip and Mary, to 16th May, 4 and 5 Philip and Mary,

(1) See the poem in *Paradise of Dainty Devices*. « Being asked the occasion of his white head, he answered thus ».

(2) Dart's *History of Westminster*. II. 61.

(3) See my Article in the *Athenaeum* « The Burial-places of Rachel Brigham and her father » 28th April 1894, page 541.

in the second year and fourth week, among « The wekely receptes of Tapers, Torches, Graves and Belles », we find « Of Rachell Briggam for 4 tapers 2/8 ; of Rachell Briggam for her grave £2, for the Belles 1/6. Of Rachell Briggam for the herse cloth 4d. (1) ». These « receptes » prove that « Sara » really represented Rachell, and that she was duly buried in St. Margarets, and *not in the Abbey*. It is probable that a memorial tablet was *hung* upon her tomb, as was frequently done, and that her mother transferred it, after her father's death, to the place of his interment. Such pilgrimages of memorial records were common at the time, and have often caused confusion since.

Wood conjectures that Nicholas Brigham was born in Caversham or Canonend, where his brother resided, and that he was descended from the Brighams of Brigham in Yorkshire. The Dictionary of National Biography says that no Nicholas appears in the pedigrees of the Brighams of Yorkshire, nor in that of the Brighams of Canonend. These family genealogies are too often incomplete in the younger branches, to pay much attention to them. Suffice it to say, that in this case at least, the connection can be *proved* independently of the pedigree. Anthony Brigham (2) of Caversham left « to his brother Nicholas, his great iron chest », very possibly the one the conspirators found « too heavy to lift ». He also left much to his wife Margaret, and the remainder to his son and heir Thomas, the « executors being my wife Margaret, my brother Nicholas, and Robert Rose ».

On the 29th June 1544 Nicholas Brigham had had a grant of the reversion of the post of one of the Tellers of the Exchequer after Richard Warner (3), who is generally believed to have

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(1) This was a relatively expensive funeral. No grave in the account cost more, and no tapers cost so much. There was no other « Brigham » in that register mentioned in that year.

(2) Somerset House wills, 14 Tasche. 11th Jan. 6 Ed. VI. His inquisition P. M. was taken, 7 April, 7 Ed. VI. by Sir Edward and Robert Peckham, who refer to this will.

(3) Richard Warner had been appointed 19th July, 32 Henry VIII. His patent to be Teller of Exchequer after Robert Fowler, Pat. 24th July, p. 8, M. 32. Richard Brigham, reversion of office, Unius Mundator Percepti &c. Pat. 36. Hen. VIII. 19th. p. M. 4, and M. 25. See Terminal Notes 2 and 3. I have been unable to find any will or P. M. of a Richard Warner of the date,

been his father in-law. Brigham seems to have succeeded very soon to the office ; and there are many entries of his receipts, and transfers, in the State Papers, with his signature affixed. His handwriting was clear, but grew shaky as he grew ill (1). He served Mary with great faithfulness, and on 23rd May, 4 and 5 Philip and Mary, he was granted an annuity of £ 50 (2) ; which was cancelled, only to be reconfirmed (3) on 14th August, including the name of his wife for her life. But Nicholas was not only known to his contemporaries for « his good and faithful services to his Queen ». Brigham's Biographers (4), who strangely enough, do not notice his public office, say that he was educated at Hart Hall, Oxford, and was equally valuable for his knowledge of poetry, history, and the municipal Laws. He published a book entitled De Venationibus rerum memorabilium, Lib. 1, a collection of notices of characters and events, from which Bale has borrowed much (5). Memoirs, a Diary, in 12 books. Miscellaneous Poems, written in his youth. None of these are probably now in existence (6). In his youth also he wrote many erudite works, but latterly gave up everything for the study of Municipal Laws. The praise of Bale

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unless it be possible to be one of the following : Richard Warner of Holwey Grange, Swacliffe, Oxon, 1545, proved 6th November 1556. (19 Alen) ; Roger or Richard Warner, citizen and draper of London, 1544, leaves property to his wife Margaret and her unborn child, (15 Pynninge). There was a Richard Warner, Collector of Customs, 21 Hen. VIII, and money sent ; — « Per Ric. Warner nuper unius coll. custe in porte London de octdiu Custum 22 Hen. VIII ». Also a recompense to Ric. Warner till the end of his life. Unclassified Miscellanies. No. 69. Treas. of Receipt. P. R. O.

(1) *S. P. D. S.* Mary XII.

Addit. MS. 5754 p. 48, 49. Brit. Mus.

(2) Pat. 4 and 5, Philip and Mary, p. 13, M. 1.

(3) Pat. 5 and 6. Philip and Mary, p. 3, M. 30.

(4) Dodd's *Church, Hist.* Vol. I. Dart's *History of Westminster,* vol. II. 61. Warton's *Hist. of Poetry.* II. 44 ; III. 353. Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* I. Camden's *History.*

(5) John Bale. *Catalogus Scriptorum Illustrium.* Centuria nona (f. 718) XLVIII : Nicolaus Brighamus, homo Latine doctus, et Anglicarum antiquitatum amator maximus, ab aliis literarum studiis ad forenses causas traductus, magna enituit prudentia. Scripsit ille.

« Venationes rerum memorabilium. Lib. 1 ».

« Rerum quotidianarum. Lib. 12 ».

Aliud apud illum vidi nihil. Claruit anno Domini. 1550 ».

(6) Rare among Authors, his work in stone is alone preserved.

and Pits is noteworthy. (See edit. 1557-9, Cent. 10. M. 72. Cent. 11. M. 6. 42. 52. 95. Cent. 12. M. 24. 79. 82. 95).

But he is best remembered today for his devotion to Chaucer. He removed the bones of his revered master from the Cloisters, where they had lain since 1400, into the interior of the Catholic Abbey, 1555-6. Before his time a leaden plate had hung in St. Bennet's Chapel in Westminster Abbey, with the epitaph by Surigonius of Turin « Galfridus Chaucer vates et fama Poesis Materne hac sacra sum tumulatus humo ». Brigham built a marble tomb and canopy, in the south transept, on the north end of which was a portrait of Chaucer, (taken from Occleve's « De Regimine Principis ») now quite defaced. The inscription was written by Brigham (1) :

M. S.

« Qui fuit Anglorum vates ter maximus olim
Galfridus Chaucer conditur hoc tumulo :
Annum si quaeras Domini, si tempora mortis (vitae).
Ecce notæ subsunt, quæ tibi cuncta notant.
25 Octobris 1400.
Ærumnarum regnies mors ».
« N. Brigham hos fecit musarum nomine sumptus ».

Formerly, round the base ran : —

« Si rogitas quis eram, forsan te fama docebit,
Quod si fama negat, mundi quia gloria transit ;
Hæc Monumenta lege ».

It is said (2) that part of Henry VII 's chapel was built on the site of Chaucer's garden, so the great poet lies near his own old home. In removing his master's bones to their present resting-place, Nicholas Brigham may be awarded the proud distinction of having *founded* "*The Poets' Corner*" in the Abbey. Where the father of English poetry lies, his descendants are gathered together.

After building the tomb, came into Brigham's life, the shadow of the conspiracy ; and then the shadow, darker to him at least, of Rachel's death. In the autumn of 1558 Brigham became seriously ill. There is a curious uncertainty of date about his

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(1) Remaining in Mr. Ashmole's time. Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses*. I 309.
(2) Neale's *Westminster*. I. App. 5. See also Lansdowne MS. 446.

nuncupative will (1), to record which he summoned Dr. Eadon, Archdeacon of Middlesex, (the proper authority), and several witnesses : « These beyng privye, and heryng and seyeinge the premysses, Doctor Eadon, Mr. Felton, Mr. Mody, with others ». It commences thus : « In the moneths of September, October, November and December 1558, or in one of the same moneths, Nicholas Brigham .... being sicke in bodye, yette holle and perfite of mind » &c. « willed and bequeathed all his goods, movable and unmovable, unto Margaret his well-beloved wife, the Quene's grace being first answered of such dettes as shall be founde due unto her ». There arose trouble out of this will, as may be seen ; but it may prove that Nicholas himself had no belief in the scandal suggested by Thomas White the informer, concerning his wife. It showed he still loved and honoured Margaret and trusted her ; and though Hunnis was at large, he left his wife comparatively rich, and absolutely untrammelled, in receipt of the Royal pension he had secured for her.

Very shortly after his stern but kind-hearted mistress, Nicholas Brigham left the Treasure House he had kept for her so faithfully. The kind heart, honest soul, and poetic brain had done with work !

His wife Margaret would have to leave it also to make room for her husband's successor. But she was not left homeless. In Henry VIII's reign, Brigham had bought from Vincent, (who had received it from Henry VIII, at the dissolution of the monasteries), the Almshouse, that Henry VII had founded beside the gatehouse in Westminster, (though the Abbey itself, being under Royal Patronage, was retained), and Nicholas had evidently lived in it, so it must have been close to the Treasury. Very probably Mrs. Margaret Brigham would stay there after her husband's funeral.

It is likely that she buried him at Chaucer's feet, as a suitable place of resting. There are no records of the burials at that time in Westminster Abbey. But the Churchwarden's accounts of his Parish Church of St. Margaret's record among « The

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(1) Somerset House Wills 52 Chayney.

foreyn reseytes » the receipt of 14/6 « at the burial of Nicholas Brigham ». « Foreign » with them meant anything outside their own jurisdiction, and there was no reason that he should have been buried outside of his parish churchyard in any other place, except perhaps at Caversham, where also the records are mute. If therefore Margaret, possibly at his desire, buried Nicholas in the Abbey, she may then have carried thither little Rachel's memorial, which has confused so many. The exact day of death or burial is nowhere found. Wood makes an error in the date, which becomes very important in this story, giving it as Nov. 1559, instead of 1558.

On the 20th, February, 1558-9 Margaret personally received powers of administration of her husband's effects from. Dr. Eadon, Archdeacon of Middlesex, signing her name as « Margaret Brigham (1) ». The inventory is not preserved.

Doubtless her old friend William Hunnis went frequently to console her in her sorrow before and after her husband's death. She would associate him with happy days before that hateful conspiracy came between them, when she and her husband and her child were glad to welcome the musical and mirthful young poet to their home. Perhaps the slander that before had breathed on them, began once more to be heard, and acted as a hastening impulse to their marriage so soon after Nicholas Brigham's death. By a strange chance, there is a gap in the marriage registers of St. Margarets Westminster, just about this date, and I have been unable to find any trace of it elsewhere. But they must have been married shortly after the proving of the Will nuncupative of Nicholas, because on the 2nd of June 1559, Margaret Hunnis (2), alias Brigham, alias Wariner, being sicke of body, but of good and perfect memory, made her testament nuncupative. In this it is stated, that by permission of her husband, William Hunnis, gentleman of the Chapel Royal, she left « to Francis Brigham her cousin, all her tenements and mansion house lying at Westminster, commonly

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(1) See 52 Chayney, Somerset House Wills. It also appears in the Administration of the goods of Intestates, Court of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, Bracy 272.

(2) Somerset House Wills 46 Chayney.

called The Allmes House, to hym and to his heirs for ever ». But it would seem there had been some arrangement that her husband should have the use of it for life. She made him sole heir of everything else she had, and executor to her will ; but she seemed to have felt that a mansion-house that came from a Brigham should go to a Brigham. Why she left it to Francis, and not to Thomas, I know not. The witnesses were Hardyman Clarke, Thomas Rolfe, Robert Willot, Richard Walles and others. Nicholas Brigham's annuity would cease with *her* life at least, but it is probable that she had other property from her husband and her father. I do not know when she died, or whether she left a child. The Register is silent on both questions. But her will was proved (1) on the 12th October 1559, by Thomas Willot « procurator for William Hunnis », so she must have died before that date.

William Hunnis was not left in undisputed possession of his wife's property. The objections are not only of importance in the sketch of his own life, but in any full and correct history of the Charities of Westminster. After the copy of Nicholas Brigham's will in Somerset House is preserved the statement, concerning the commission issued by William Hunnis, husband and executor of Margaret Hunnis alias Brigham, 4th November, 1559 (2); and the action instituted by James Brigham, (a nephew of the defunct Nicholas), who impugned the will.

Why it should have been James, instead of Thomas the eldest son of Anthony Brigham, or Francis the legatee of Mrs. Margaret Hunnis, I have not been able to find out. Thomas Willot, the proxy of William Hunnis, and John Juvent, proxy of James Brigham, discussed the matter before Dr. Walter Haddon, who seems to have decided in favour of William Hunnis.

But the other claim was a more serious one. « The Report of the Charity Commission » states that Henry VII had founded an Almshouse in the little Almonry (see Note 4) for 13 poor men, one of them to be a priest, and three poor women to dress their food. He also left a thousand marks a year to keep it up, and to this was every Abbot sworn. But the

(1) Somerset House Wills 46 Chayney.
(2) Somerset House Wills 52 Chayney,

Commissioners' Report does not go on to state, what was really the case, that Henry VIII diverted this bequest as part of the Abbey temporalities, and that, at his time, it got into private hands like many other similar foundations. Probably even Mary did not disturb this grant which had been purchased by her faithful Teller of the Exchequer, and it passed as his property to his wife, and through her to her second husband. As the Commissioner's Report only leaps on to state that « by the Charter of the second year of Elizabeth, which established the present Chapter of Westminster, these Almsmen were incorporated into the Collegiate Church and we are therefore precluded from any further enquiry concerning them », and as it takes no notice of the doubts and difficulties that lay between the dates of the foundation and re-foundation, I had to study the subject more fully than otherwise I would have done.

Two preliminary points must be noted, that Elizabeth only took possession of the Abbeys &c, *restored* by Mary, and that the Almshouse had been wrested from its use by Henry VIII, and *never restored ;* and therefore should not have come under this classification, and that the Almonry, or Almerie was a *district* rather than a building. For instance « on 29th Jan. 36 Eliz. was granted to Richard Tarver a tenement in the Almorie between a tenement of Robert White, master of the Choristers, and a tenement of Henry Barnard ». In Aubrey's Life of James Harrington he says « for twenty years before he died (except during his imprisonment) he lived in the little Ambry, (a faire house on the left hand) which lookes into the Dean's yard in Westminster ».

The Almshouse of the Brighams was the real foundation of Henry VII. It would seem that in Mary's reign, Brigham had allowed the Almsmen to occupy part of it, keeping the remainder as his own property. At least there seems to have been some action, which led to a considerable confusion of ideas, as regarded the vested rights in the place. So much so, that a petition was presented to the House of Commons against William Hunnis and his occupation of it. As this seems unknown to every one, who has written about Westminster, I have transcribed it. The « Queen's poor subjects the Almonsmen of her Highness's Almonshouse of Westminster » in

most humble and lamentable wise, shew to the Lords and Commons, that they had always enjoyed the foundation by Hen. VII 's letters patent,... where they always kept their common table and chapel and a garden, until about fifteen or sixteen years ago, when one Vincent, Warder of the beds to Henry VIII, pretending a title to the premises as of a gift of Henry VIII, sold it to Nicholas Brigham, who entered into the said Hall, Garden and other Premises, and detained them during his life. After whose decease, upon the Almsmen's complaint to the Queen in her first year, she appointed Sir Thomas Parry, Treasourer of the Household to enter on the same, and seize them to her Majestie's use, who did so, and held them during his life, promising the Almsmen restitution. Since his death (1) however « one Ennys, one of the Quene's Majesties Chapelle hath entered into the premises, intruding upon her highness possession, clayminge the same by intermarriage witte the wife of the said Nicholas Brigham, contrary to all right, equitie, and justice and to the disherison of the Queene's highness, and the undoing of your pore Orators, having now lefte them towards their relefe only their poore chambers, and pencions of six poundes thirteen shillings and fourpence aniece by yeare ». « The said Ennys... hath and doth seek by all the waies and meanes he can devise, to get and take from your said orators the Hall... with the Chapell and Garden to the same belonging... May it therefore please your honors and the commons of this present parlyment... to call before you the said *Ennys* and to examine his title and interest to the premises... and that the same may be established to the Almonsmen, for the godly intent of the same foundation ». Endorsed « The Queen's Almsmen's Byll of Westmynster. (Dom. Ser. State Pap. Addenda. Eliz. XI 96) (2).

I have not been able in the Journal of the House of Commons, or elsewhere, to find any decision of this petition, or any action taken upon it. But it would seem to have returned to its original use shortly, as Stow, in his Survey of Westminster (3)

(1) Parry died 1560. See Camden's *Tombs of Westminster*.

(2) See my paper in the *Athenæum*, 30th Dec. 1905. « Henry Seventh's Almshouse, Westminster ».

(3) Book VI. chap. iii. p. 56. The Almshouse was taken down some years ago, under an act of Parliament for improving Westminster.

makes no allusion to its ever having changed hands. It certainly did not return to the Brighams ; whether William Hunnis was ousted or not, it is difficult to say. In the Collectors' books for the poor, of later years he is entered as « of the Almonry ».

I believe that the matter must have been referred to the Queen, and that she, seeing the justice of both claims, bought out William Hunnis by granting him other patents, with which he had to be content.

Meanwhile the Reformation under Elizabeth was going on slowly but surely. She had the prayerbook revised and adopted, and accepted the metrical Psalms of her brother's reign. Nichols notes (1) that on 17th March 1560, Mr. Veron, a Frenchman by birth, but a learned Protestant, and parson of St. Martins Ludgate, preached at Paul's Cross before the Mayor and Aldermen, and after sermon done, they sung all in common a Psalm in metre, as it seems was now frequently done, the custom being brought in from abroad, by exiles.

In the same year among the expenses of the Chapel Royal (2) is recorded. « For one great Bible 26/8 ; for two lesser, 20/ the piece, for six service books 3/8 ; for 36 Psalters at 2/ a piece with strings or registers to turn the place ».

So that all, or nearly all the Singers in the Chapel Royal would have a book to themselves.

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(1) Nichol's Royal Progresses, Elizabeth. Preface.
(2) British Museum MS. 5750, dated Greenwich, 1560.

CHAPTER VIII.

BROTHER OF THE GROCER'S COMPANY. 1560.

It seems strange to be able to trace the fortunes of a gentleman of the Chapel Royal, through the books of the Grocer's Company. But so it is. His fair wife Margaret dead, his inheritance from her contested, William Hunnis found consolation and « advancement » in another marriage. His second choice, Mrs. Blanck, already twice a widow, practised « the mysterie » of the company of grocers by right conveyed to her through her first husband. The name of this « grocer » is nowhere expressly stated in relation to her, but it is almost certain that he was John Blagge, who was admitted member of the Company in 1504, on payment of forty shillings. Of him there is an interesting story told in Fox's Acts and Monuments (1) in the chapter on « How Lord Cromwell helped Cranmer's Secretary ». Cranmer's book on the Six Articles had just been transcribed by his secretary, who carried it with him when he took a boat to cross the Thames. There had been a great Bear-baiting, and the Bear had escaped and had run into the river, where it overturned their boat, so that it sank. In the confusion the book slipped out of the Secretary's girdle, and when floating on the river, was secured by the Bearward. The secretary courteously asked him for it, but the Bearward refused to give it up, saying there was matter in it enough to hang both him and his master. The secretary offered five shillings, and even twenty shillings, in vain, and he went to consult « his friend Blage the Grocer in Cheapside », who offered to invite the Bearward to supper with the secretary that night. After supper Mr. Blagge tried to induce the Bearward to give up the book « and not to be stiff », but he flung himself out of the house in a passion without even saying

(1) Vol. V, p. 389.

thanks for his supper. The Secretary went the next morning to Cromwell, and told him about the accident. Amid the crowd of visitors in the Lobby, Cromwell saw the Bearward with the book in his hand, and abruptly snatched it from him, saying that he marvelled much at his audacity in daring to refuse to return the Primate's book to the Secretary. So the Bearward had to go away with nothing for his pains, while Cromwell returned the book to Cranmer, who gave it to his secretary to make a clean copy.

This John Blagge became the master of Grafton. He made his will in the Parish of Colechurch, asking Bishop Hooper to preach his funeral sermon. He left many bequests to friends and relations ; to his friend Robert Hyndersley, Grocer, his Bible of Matthews translation ; to his cousin John Spender all his leases and tenements in Newport, where he was born. To his wife *Agnes* the lease of their own dwellinghouse and all his « houses, lands, tenements, and hereditaments in Lang Dyche, Westminster » for Life, to revert to his daughter Mary after her death. *Agnes*, his wife to be sole executrix. The will was proved on 24th May 1552.

Now according to the Grocer's books, John Blagge paid brotherhood money up to 1551, and Mrs. Blagge paid brotherhood money in 1552, 1553, 1554 ; when her name disappeared and that of Richard Blancke took the place of hers during 1555, 1556, 1557, being all the time entered as « Haberdasher (1) ». Then his widow paid brotherhood money as « Mrs. Blanck », until she became betrothed to William Hunnis, gentleman of the Chapel Royal.

She was probably of an active and managing disposition, and intended to carry on the business herself. Desiring to associate her husband in the responsibility, and in the privileges of the Company, she suggested that he should apply for the freedom. He does not seem to have been slow to take advantage of the opportunity offered to him. An inhabitant of

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(1) « Whereas Mr. Wardens at their last search toke a remnant of graynes ungarbelled from Richard Blancke, haberdasher. It is therefore agreed that the same graynes shall be garbled, and the garbell thereof burned, and so the Bedill of this company to carie home the same agayne ».

London acquired much power and dignity through gaining the freedom of any guild, but the brothers of the Grocer's Company (1) were distinguished among the other Freemen of the City. Therefore the limitations to admission were strict. The story of the admission of Hunnis is best told in the words of their own books.

« 11th Nov. 1560.

« William Hunnes a redempcioner of this Companye

« At this courte ther came one William Hunnes, gentilman, requestinge that he might have the freedome and liberties of this companye of grocers of London, by waie of redempcion, and that favore in metycating the fyne therfor provided might allso be shewed unto hym. And forasmuch as it is well knowen that the said William Hunnes shall marrie the wife of William Blancke, whiles he lived, Haberdassher, deceased, who in his lyfe tyme did occupye the trade of this mysterie, by reason that his said late wife was first married unto a grocer, and so, by the said trade which came unto the same Blancke by cause of marriage of the Grocer's wife, moche knowledge of this mysterie was to hym opened, and lykewise great inconvenyence and hinderance grew unto this companie. Thies thinges with other, ripely being debated and talked upon : Thereupon the aforesaid William Hunes was called in before the face of this Courte, who broughte with hym a pawne of £10 for his admission into this companie, and laid it downe in open courte to be ordered and appoynted, at the discretion of the

(1) The History of this powerful Company from its foundation, through all its vicissitudes, of its dissensions with the Mercer's Company in the time of Nicholas Brember, of its wealth, its loans, its charities and its ambitions, have been preserved, not only in its own books, but in the Records of the City of London, and among the State Papers at the Record Office. The splendid book of Mr. J. A. Kingdon, formerly Master of the Company « *Facsimile of the First Volume of the MS. Archives of the Company of Grocers 1345-1463* » with introduction, appeared 1886. Among the names of the Freemen we may note Richard Lee. « 1431 Received of Richard Lee to help make him Freeman 20 » Warden 1443, Master 1453, Lord Mayor 1460. His son Richard Lee sworn apprentice 1451, Freeman 1458, Warden 1458, Master 1468, Lord Mayor 1469. Richard Lee 1580, Other well known names are John Campion, free, 1469, Richard Spede 1482, Richard Garrard 1482, John Garrard 1488, William Lambard 1481, Randolph Machyn 1499.

wholle assistants aforenamed, and so he departed fourthe. Whereuppon it is now fully condiscended and agreed by the auctorytie of this Courte that the same William Hunes shall be admitted a freeman of the Companye, and to paie for his said admission 40/ for a fyne, and also to gyve a Buck at the next election dinner in June nowe next comynge, which he hath promised, willing to gyve. And nowe at this courte he was sworne and taken to be a freeman and his name was entered into the book of freemen (1) ».

There is evidently a mistake in Mr. Blanck's Christian name here. It is « Richard » who is mentioned in the « Brotherhood money payments, and it is possible that the Clerk's thought slipped from one « William » to another. It is true that there is no reference to a « Richard Blanck » in the Books of the Haberdasher's company. But the « William » mentioned there would seem to have been of too early a date to have become Mrs. Blagge's husband. The Haberdasher's books (2) begin in 1526, and the first entry is that of an apprentice presented for the freedom, « William Quelter per William Blanck, 14 April 1526 ».

Nicholas Rose per William Blanck 10th Nov. 1528.
John Trife per William Blanck » » »
Bennet Cawson per William Blanck 10th Nov. 1532.
There are also others of the name
John Essex per Thomas Blancke 1528.
Alexander Blanck per Mr. Atkinson 1528.

I imagine that Richard Blancke, may have been son of some of the Haberdashers of that name, and gaining his freedom by inheritance there may have practised « the mysterie » of the grocer's company through matrimony. Or he really may have been too old for the books. There is only one will in Somerset House of a suitable date (43 Mellershe). A « Richard Blancke Haberdasher » on 15th May 1560, left legacies to « Thomas (3)

(1) Grocer's Books. Minutes of the Court of Assistants.
(2) I was kindly permitted to examine them for this purpose.
(3) « Thomas Blanke thelder citizen and Haberdasher of London in Saint Leonards next East Cheap, made his will in 1563 (39 Chayney). Prer. Court. Cant.

Blanck the elder » and the younger, to many of his wife's children and his own friends ; « to the company of Haberdashers, £4 for a dinner ». To the poore of *this* parish of St. Oliffe, Southwark, 3 marks. He left his wife *Agnes* the sole executor. As we find that Mrs. Blanck and William Hunnis afterwards did reside, or hold property in the Surrey Side of London Bridge in St. Olave's Southwark, it would seem that the testator was this Haberdasher-Grocer. The wife's name, both in Blagge's and Blancke's will was « Agnes ». It is curious that neither husband mentions a son and heir. John Blagge only mentions a daughter Mary, while Blancke refers to his « wife's children ». Of course family dissensions or previous settlements might provide a reason for this, or his wife's children may have been of some earlier matrimony.

I have not been able to find any record of her marriage to William Hunnis, though I have carefully searched the Registers of St. Margaret's Westminster, and of those Essex parishes, with which he afterwards became associated. Greenwich Registers are lost for the date. The Registers of St. Olave's, Southwark, only begin in 1583, and the marriage was probably performed in that parish. That the marriage really took place can be proved by other entries in the grocers' books. He had not been long a married brother before he got into trouble.

Court of Assistance 11th March 1561.

« Hunnes to bring in a pawne for keeping a servant.

Wheare William Hunes, grocer, retayneth in his shoppe a apprentice bounde to one Blancke his predecessor, and, whyles he lyved, Citizen and Haberdassher of London, deceased, and at this tyme the said apprentice is not setton unto the same William from the Companye of Haberdasshers, but still remayneth in his shoppe, trained in the arte and faculty of this company to the greate hurte and hindrance of this mystery. It is therefore, by vertue of this courte, condiscended and concluded, that Mr. Wardeins shall cause the same William to appeare before them with expedicyon and enioyne him for to departe with the said apprentice furthwithe upon their warninge, or ells (yf he will not so doo) for the wealthe of this companye than he to bringe in a sufficient pawne according to the ordinance of this house ».

« 11th March 1561. Immediately after Hunnes, order to be taken with thoes that do keep jorneymen free of other companies. Wheare ther is some freemen of this companye at this daie that doo kepe journeymen free of other companies which is to the great discommoditie of this mysterie. And for reformacion thereof it is ordered that Mr. Wardeynes shall take such direction and provision therein as to their discretion shalbe thought meet and convenient ».

Various entries in the Grocer's books elucidate the relations that William Hunnis bore to the company, and the cause of the trouble he got into. For instance « 26th Sept. 1558 William Cooke, who intendeth to marrie the wife of Blaise Whitte grocer, deceased, shalbe receaved a brother of this company of grocers, and admitted into the liberties of the same, paying 20 marks for his fyne ».

« Thomas Bagnall of the Mercers, prayed to be admitted a brother, and this was granted on £10 fine, of which £5 was remitted ».

« 7th Dec. 1558. John Mychell's wife not lent the money, promised to her husband, lest she should marry out of the company ».

« 19th Jan. 1558. That Henry Myngies apprentices shall be taken away from John Tranes, who married Myngies' wife ».

« 16th Aug. 1559. The apprentice of William Woodlands' wife to be taken from her, because she married Mr. Mosier, Draper ».

« 16th Aug. 1559. A precepte from the Lord Mayor to inform him of such of this Company as beare not scott and lott as other freemen do, and yet they enjoy the liberty of the city ; to reporte the names and surnames of all and everie such person and persons as by anie manner of waies, enioye and take the benefitt and comoditie of the freedome and liberties of the said citie, not inhabiting or remaining with ther wyves and families within the same citie, or the liberties thereof, nor bearing from tyme to tyme lot and scott with freemen and cityzens of the said citie as they aught to do ».

A committee was also appointed, of which Richard Grafton was a member, at the same date to decide whether the members lived in the country or in the town.

« On 11th April 1561 Thomas Swynton, Servaunt unto Sir Richard Sackville, Knight, had interest made to the Company, and was made free with a fine of £3. 6. 8. ».

On 7th Maie 1561, it was decided that the Election dinner should be given on Monday the 17th June, and the Buck promised by Hunnis, was to be part of the provision. Similar arrangements seem to have been made with others. On the 18th June 1561, Thomas Gardyner, a freeman of the Drapers, was translated from that company to the grocers, bringing £10 as a pawn, of which they only took £3. 6. 8. « And for the metycating of the same fine, the said Thomas hath promised to give a Bucke at the election dinner ».

The custom of having apprentices from other companies seems constantly to have led to trouble.

On 8th May 1562, in the morning

Hunes to make suyte to have his prentice from ye Haberdasshers.

Item, it is agreed that William Hunes grocer, shall be dispensed with all at the tyme for his pawne nowe remaining in Mr. Wardein's handes, and also they willed him to make earnest requeste unto the Haberdasshers, for his servant, which was bounde to his predecessore, to be translated into this Company or else to travaile with his said servant to have hym newe bounden to this company, and to make reporte hereof as shortely as may be ».

In the next entry, at an undated Court of Assistants, held in some afternoon in July 1562, we find « Item, Wheare William Hunnes grocer, sondrie tymes hath been called privatlye before the Wardeins that laste wer, as also openly before the whole assystants, of and for keping brynging upp and instructing of an apprentyce bounden to the company of Haberdasshers, in the arte and facultie of thys mysterie, contrarie to thordynance of this howse made and provided for the same. It is at this courte agreed that Mr. Wardeins eftsoones shall call the same Hunes before them, commanding him with speed accordyng to his former promise, to fynde the meanes that the said apprentice maie be translated over to this companie or else

Hunes to get his servant from this company or else to put him from him.

furthwith he to be putt from him and then Mr. Warden's to laie ». (unfinished).

At the next meeting dated July 25th, 1562, there were new wardens.

« On 1st August 1562, a Certificate was handed in of those who paid scot and lot ».

On « 1st October 1562 » the minute runs

William Hunes	Item, yt ys condescended that William Hunes shalbe sent for at the next court to prove to some final end for and concerninge his servant now remaining with him ».

Apparently for some cause or other, Hunnis had donc nothing in this vexed matter, and had been ordered to bring a pawne into the Court. On the 17th daie of December 1562.

Hunnes pawne	Item. Mr. Loddington (1) in presence of this Courte browghte into this halle, and delyvered to Mr. Wardein's hands William

Hunnes pawne, which is a cheyne of golde, and 2 ringes annexed thereunto, whereof one is a dyamond and thother a Turkeis and therefore they have laide upp the same in the Countinghouse in the Parlour ».

After a long gap in the Records his name appears again.

18th daie of June 1563

Hunes to have his old pawne againe	Item it is ordered and agreed that William Hunes shall have his old pawne agayne, which was a cheyne of gold & other rynges and he to brynge in a new pawne to this

house for his matter now depending ».

On the 4th day of June 1563 it had been agreed « That the Wardens should prepare a pageant according to the Lord Maire his device, as by his letter appereth ». It is just possible that William Hunnis had something to do with this.

On the 21st June 1564, it was recorded « So many do not pay the quarterage money as becometh good brothers, that their names are to be entered in a Book, cawled, The Booke of Stoppes (2) », also « those that be notorious quarellers and

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(1) Mr. Nicholas Loddington was Past Warden.

(2) Somewhat resembling The Checkbook of the Chapel, in its methods and effects.

disobedient brethren ». If any man wanted his son or servant to be made free, nothing was to be done, until he had cleared all dues from « the book of Stops ». The name of Hunnis has been entered in that book, though he seems to have been fairly regular in paying his Brotherhood money. Some pages seem to have strayed about this date, but in 1565, William Hunnis, resident in Southwark, is entered as duly paying his two shillings, as he did in 1566, and in 1567. In 1568 « William Hones » is entered as resident on London Bridge, an interesting fact in relation to the later Guildhall grant. He does not pay in 1569. But in 1570, heading « those dwelling in Westminster (1) or extravagant » appears « William Hunes 4/- » that is two years' money. No payment in 1571 ; and in 1572 « Westmynster and elsewhere out of London, Willme Hunnesse 4/- » ; 1573 Willim Honesse 2/- ; 1575 Willm Hunesse 4/. Some pages seem to be missing here. In 1580-1 the freemen are not classified under their addresses, but we find « Mr. Hunnisse 2/- ».

The reason of his changes of address seem to be his court employment, and the country house in Ilford.

Meanwhile he had reached the livery. That he had done so in so short a time, and that his name stood so high in the list, may be taken as a test of social estimation (2).

« At a Courte of Assistants held 9. May 1567.

Also whereas there was XVI persons at the last Courte apointed to enter into the Livery and Clothing of the Company. It is now agreed that there shalbe XVIII taken yn and placed as followeth (1) Henry Cloker, James Hewis, John Garden, John Parker (2), William Messe (3), Thomas Hale, John Pelsant, John Bull, John Wanton (4), William Hunnesse (5), John Hudson (6), John Colmer, Barnard Felde, Gabriell Colston, Water Stones (7), Robert Winche (8), Wm. Coles (9), Robert Hardy ».

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(1) William Hunnis of the Queen's Chapel, was assessed in Westminster on £40, in 5 Eliz. and in 9 Eliz. Rev. J. Hunter, Chorus Vatum Angl. Add. MS. 24,488. Brit. Mus.

(2) Some reason for this may be in the various events of his life, and in the special talents he possessed, rather than in his capabilities as a grocer. He had been made « Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal, » six months before.

In the quire of The Warden's accounts 1566-7 we find « The laste Liverie Willim Hunnesse 2/- » and in another section « Patrone money received of those that were taken into the last livere Willim Hunnesse 20/- ». A few entries further may help to illustrate his environment. On the last day of April 1568, « William Tabor, one of the companie's scholars to come and preach at St. Stevens, & *Edmund Campion* to come and preach at the same time or to lose his allowance ».

On the 14th day of July 1568. « Edmund Campion to preach at Pauls Crosse 14 days after Michaelmas », « being supposed to be of no sound judgement in religion ». Another order runs « 2nd Aug. 1568 Edmund Campion to preach before the Grocers at St. Stephens on 17th October ».

« 14th Oct. 1568. Edmund Campion yelded up his exhibicion ». « 25th Nov. 1568. The Company granted him half a year's exhibicion i.e. £ 3. 11. 8, 33/8 being a quarter of the Exhibicion now vacated till Chrystmas, to be granted to Mother Agar, a grocer's widow ».

It is interesting to note that Campion's views were defined, and adversely criticised, before the fulmination of the Pope's Bull, so disastrous in its effects on English Catholics.

It is also interesting to find another fellow-conspirator of Hunnis made free of the Company. « On the 7th July 1572, Mr. Edward Horsey Esq. admitted to the freedom of the grocers' company, and was so thankful, that he said he would always help the grocers if he could » and gave heavy fees as a free gift.

Two further notes suggest the struggle between Protestants, Puritans, and Catholics : « 29th. April 1579. Sir Thomas Lodge made request for the freedom of Edward Campyon (1) whom the Lord Mayor had made free of the city ».

And on 27th Sept. 1579. « According to the commandment given by the Lord Mayor and the Queen's proclamation forbidding the having, reading or Keping any of the seditious libelles that have of late been spread abroad against the Duke

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(1) He was executed 1st Dec. 1581 for treason and heresy, having become a Jesuit. He wrote, along with Spenser, a History of Ireland, which long remained in MS.

of Anjou and his ambassadors, and about the disturbance of the Queen's subjects about the disturbing of their faith, all such bookes are to be burnt (1) ». At the side is entered « Stubbs his booke ».

Those on the Livery had their charges increased in 1586. The name of William Hunnis appears no more in the books. Possibly his increasing poverty prevented him from being able to pay the subscriptions, possibly the retirement or death of his wife rendered him incapable of doing so. She died in 1588 at Ilford.

In regard to the Southwark place of residence it is unfortunate that the Registers of St. Olaves, Southwark, only commence so late as 1583. Some of his name appear therein, even after that date. But the Churchwardens' accounts and Vestry Books are preserved from 1546. And his name begins to appear there in 1563.

« Received of William Honies for the same shope at (2) 13/4 per annum 20/ ».

« Collector for the Poor, Southside (3) 1564, William Henys ». Other entries refer to a removal, and to a residence on London Bridge, an important point, in relation to a later grant.

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(1) Repeated 7th November 1579, answer not recorded.

(2) Churchwardens' Accounts. St. Olave's, Southwark.

(3) Vestry Books. These books give much topographical information as to gradual enclosing &c.

CHAPTER IX.

SUPERVISOR OF ROYAL GARDENS, 1563.

Though Cunningham in his Edition of the Revels' Book (1) mentions the fact that there was a William Hunnys, who was Keeper of the Gardens at Greenwich, he takes it for granted that he could not be the same man as the poet-gentleman of the Chapel Royal. Those who follow Cunningham quote from him. But on referring to the patent, I find it quite clearly stated, that the William Hunnis appointed *was* the gentleman of the Chapel Royal.

Elizabeth was always dilatory in paying her debts of honour, and she did not always pay them in suitable coin (2). It was the fourth year of her reign before she remembered the tribulations that William Hunnis had gone through, which, doubtless, he considered had been greatly for her sake. She probably also hoped to balance, at the same time, the value of the Life-tenure of the Almshouse (3) absorbed by her refoundation of the Collegiate Church of Westminster, by appointing him Supervisor of the gardens at Greenwich. The post does not, at first sight, seem very suitable, and it does not appear to have been very remunerative, at a salary of 12d a day and the chance of some few perquisites. It must have been rather a heavy responsibility to keep Royal Gardens in the trim order which Elizabeth liked, and Royal Orchards in a satisfactory

(1) Shakespeare Society's Publications. 1842.

(2) Auditors' Patent Books Vol. IX. f. 85 b. In a volume of early Privy Signet Bills of Elizabeth, incomplete & imperfect, occurs the entry. « 4 Eliz., June, William Hunnis, porter at Greenwich », to which the note is added « grant. 3 October, 3 Eliz. ».

(3) See page 120.

degree of fertility. It would almost necessitate special preparedness for the duty. He had also to distil *sweet waters* and provide the Queen with seven gallons thereof annually, in which his Knowledge of Alchemy (1) might tell. His patent is not only interesting as giving an account of his duties, but as suggesting a possible reason for his selection. In the Auditors' Patent Books the entry is recorded at the side « Philippus Innes alias Hunnys » ; this is scratched out, and beneath it, is written « In re patentes William Hunnys ».

Among the patent rolls 4 Ed. VI (2) is entered the patent of Philip Innes as Keeper of the Orchards and Gardens at Greenwich for life, at a salary of 12d a day. This is cancelled, and at the side is written a note stating that Philip Innes surrendered his patent to William Hunnys, in presence of Elizabeth. In the patent of the new gardener, 20th June, 4 Eliz. (3) it is stated that Philip Innes gave up the post *willingly*, and that Elizabeth granted it « to our good, true and faithful servant, William Hunys, gentleman of our Chappell, for his especial services and help to us ».

Now the two questions which concern this biography are these. Is Innes (4) a phonetic variation of the name of Hunnis? And if so, is Philip Innes any near relative, such as father, uncle, brother, seeing that he is so willing to divest himself of office, without reward, for the sake of another? If we can imagine that Hunnis had grown up with a relative (5) in such an office, a reason is found for his appointment to it, the cheerful retirement of his predecessor, and also for the floral associations in phrase and title, which so frequently appear in his books. As the patent has never been printed, and is difficult of access, I give a translation of it in the text.

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(1) See page 85.

(2) Auditors' Patent Books. 4. Edward VI. Vol. III. f. 40.

(3) *Ibid.* 4 Eliz. IX. 85 b.

(4) In the Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber, the name appears « Philip Ennys 1560-1 » and « Enys in 1561-2 ».

(5) In the book of Offices created by Elizabeth, he is entered as William *Innes* custod. Pomar. &c. salary £ 18.5 per annum. (Treasury of Receipt, unclassified miscellanies, No. 69. Hen. VIII to Elizabeth ; P. R. O.).

Superintendent of Royal Gardens.
Auditors' Patent Books.
Vol. IX. f. 85 b.

Michaelmas.
4/5 Elizabeth.
[Philippus Innes alias Hunnys] (1).
(sic)
Letters patent of William Hunnys
[1550]

Elizabeth by the grace of God, of England, France, etc. To all to whom the present letters shall come greeting. Whereas our most dear brother, Edward the sixth, late King of England, by his letters patent made under his great seal of England bearing date at Westminster the 17th day of May in the 4th year of his reign, gave and granted to his beloved servant, Philip Innes, the office of surveyor and keeper of his new orchard and lodge, and of two gardens within his manor of Greenwich, whereof one is commonly called « thold great Gardeyn » and the other « the new Gardeyn ». To have hold occupy and enjoy the aforesaid office and all and singular the premises to the aforesaid Philip Innes by himself or by his sufficient deputy or sufficient deputies for term of the life of the same Philip with the wages and fees of twelve pence by the day of good and lawful money of England for the exercise of the aforesaid office, to have enjoy and yearly receive the wages and fees of twelve pence to the aforesaid Philip or his assigns during the life of the same Philip of his treasury at the receipt of his Exchequer at Westminster by the hands of his treasurers and chamberlains there for the time being, payable at the four terms of the year, to wit at the feasts of St. John the Baptist, St. Michael the Archangel, the Nativity of the Lord, and the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, by equal portions from time to time together with all other wages fees profits commodities easements advantages rights allowances and emoluments whatsoever to the said office in any wise appertaining belonging or incumbent as in the saide letters patent is fully shown and doth appear, Which same letters patent the said Philip Innes surrendered into our Chancery to be cancelled and they are there cancelled according as we have certain knowledge thereof by pretext of which surrender of the aforesaid office, and of other premises with the appurtenances they are now simply and absolutely in our hands and at our disposition, Know ye therefore that we in consideration of the good true and faithful services hitherto rendered to us by our beloved servant William Hunys one of the gent-

(1) These words are crossed out in the original.

lemen of our Chapel Royal, of our special grace and out of our certain knowledge and mere motion, have given and granted and by these present for us our heirs and successors do give and grant to the said William Hunnys the office of surveyor and keeper of our new orchard and of the lodge and two gardens within the manor of Greenwich whereof the one is commonly called « Thold great Gardeyn » and the other is called « the new Gardeyn ». To have hold occupy and enjoy the office aforesaid and all and singular the premises to the aforesaid William Hunnys by himself or by his sufficient deputy or sufficient deputies for term of the life of the said William with the wages and fees of twelve pence by the day of good and lawful money of England for the exercise of the office aforesaid To have enjoy and yearly receive the aforesaid wages and fees of twelve pence by the day to the aforesaid William or to his assigns during the life of the same William of the treasury of us our heirs and successors at the receipt of our Exchequer at Westminster and of our heirs and successors by the hands of the treasurers and chamberlains of us our heirs and successors there for the time being From the feast of St. John the Baptist last past before the date of these presents payable at the four terms of the year to wit at the feasts of St. Michael the Archangel, the Nativity of the Lord, the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and St. John the Baptist by equal portions from time to time together with all other wages fees profits commodities easements advantages rights allowances and emoluments whatsoever to the said office in any wise appertaining belonging or incumbent Rendering therfor yearly to us our heirs and successors « seven gallons of Swet Water » at our manor of Greenwich aforesaid payable yearly at the feasts of St. Michael the Archangel during the life of the said William Hunnys for all other rents services and demands whatsoever for the premises or for any of the premises in any wise to be rendered paid or done to us our heirs and successors, So that express mention of the certitude of the premises or of any of them or of other gifts or successions by us or by any of our progenitors to the aforesaid *Philip Hunnys* (sic) before these times etc. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters patent to be made. Witness ourself at Westminster the twentieth day of June in the fourth year of our reign.

Andrewes.

In the same volume is another patent that illustrates the Greenwich one, that to William Huggon as Supervisor of the Gardens at Hampton Court. « The keeping of the two little newe gardens of the Honour of Hampton Court, and the

making and stilling of all maner of Herbe Waters and the care of the stilling Houses of the garden, and all the advantages therein accruing ». He was to have the annual fee of £ 40.

Seeing that William Huggon had a larger salary than William Hunnys, it may be supposed either that his rank was higher, his desert greater, or his work harder.

It is possible that Elizabeth might have thought 12d a day, added to his 7 $^1/_2$ a day from the Chapel, quite sufficient « living » for Master William Hunnis. Many entries in the declared accounts shew the nature of the expenses incurred. « 1 to 2 Eliz. Philippe Ennys, Keeper of the gardens at Greenwich by warrant dormant dated at Greenwich aforesayd, the 28th day of June Anno Tercio Reginae for the wages of divers laborers hired for gardening and weeding there from the fyrst of Auguste, anno secundo, until the 26th March, anno tercio, as by the billes thereof may appear £ 32. 1. 8 ». Further gardening charges are paid to him by Mr. Fortescue : « Gardening charges to Phillip Ennys (1) gardener of Greenwiche by warrante Dormant, dated 28th June, An. 2 Eliz. for the wages of sundry laborers working and weeding there in the months of October and November 3 & 4 Eliz. 100/ ».

A different designation commences for the new patentee (2). « To William Hunnys, Supervisor and Keeper of the great gardens and orchards at Greenwich, for the wages of divers laborers, weders, and workemen, occupied in the saide gardeyns about divers newe works there commanded to be done at the Queenes Majesties appointment, from the first of October until the first daie of Julie, Anno Quart. Reg. prædict. as by a particular Book thereof subscribed as well by the saide John Fortescue Keper of the House ther, testifieing the same workes to be done, maye appeare, and also subscribed with thande of the said supervisor £ 109. 15. 3. ».

« The same William Hunys for workmen during the three months of July, August, September, Anno Quarto £ 18. 4. 9. ». In the following year he received for workman's wages £ 33. 19. 7 and again £ 23. 13. 6. and so on. In 8 Eliz. « The account of

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(1) Auditors' Patent Books 4 Eliz. IX.
(2) Pipe Office declared accounts No. 541.

the Lady Elizabeth Mason, wife and Executor, of Sir John Mason, Treasurer of the Chamber », allowed him for April, May & June, £ 14. 2. 6; for July, August & September £ 11. 8. 2. Sir Francis Knolles allowed « William Hunys, Supervisor of the Queen's Great Orchards and gardens at Greenwich for the wages of workmen, and women weders, for dressing and trimming the same within the months of October, November & December 1566, £ 9. 12. 6; for like workmen in February, January & Marche 1566-7 £ 9. 9. 6 »; and so the accounts go on regularly, through a long period. But we come to a special entry (1) erelong. « To the said William Hunnys for 6 loddes of Byrche, and for divers other necessaries, for the making of a Banqueting House for the Queens Majestie at Greenwich, her Highness being there, Mensis Junii, Anno 11 Reginae pd. and for the wages of divers workmen & women labouring about the same, viz. £ 4. 0. 4 ». This Bill seems to suggest that he made the Banqueting House as well as provided the material.

In the accounts of Sir Thomas Heneage his name is spelt differently as « William Hennys Supervisor &c. ».

We find another reference to Hunnis in 1571, in relation to the great preparations made to receive the Duke of Montmorency, the French Ambassador. « The Banketting House, made at Whitehall for thentertainment of the said Duke, did drawe the charges ensuing for the covering thereof with canvass, the Decking thereof with Birche and Firre and the fretting and garnishing thereof with Flowers and compartments with pendents and armes paynted and gilded for the purpose, the floore thereof being all strewed with rose leaves pickt and sweetened with sweete waters. The wages for the dooing thereof, themptions and provisions therefore together with rewards and alowances incident as also the partyes names to whom, by whome, & wherfore the same was payde & is to be allowed, particularly ensue, viz.....

Flowers. William Hunnys, for Rozes, 46 bushels 46/.

Pinke and Privet flowers in all, 13/4.

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(1) Sir Francis Knowles' account for 1 year, one quarter & 52 days, from 10th to 12th. Eliz., Pipe Office 541, also Account of the Treasurer of the Chamber 156/4.

Hunny Suckells 6 bushells, 12d.
More rozes, 33 bushells, with baskets, 34/10.
Privet flowers, 19 bushells 12/8.
Strewing herbes, 12 bushells 5/-.
Basketts 2/8, Glasse Bottels 2 of 4 gallons 4/.
Rose water, 4 gallons 40/.
Botehier and portage 5/8. In all £ 8. 5. 2 ».

« The Bushells of Rozes » were intended to be picked to pieces to strew the floor with their petals, further sweetened with rose-water. These four gallons must have been in addition to the 7 gallons yearly due to the Queen from his office. The price charged is so low, that it would almost seem as if it only represented the wages of workmen and women in picking these flowers, reckoned by so rough a measure.

The Revels' Books tell us something more of the entertainment that was provided the Duke at this time.

The gardening charges of William Hunnys are entered regularly, though varying greatly in amount. In Dec. 1576 they were as much as £ 76. 4. 6. Later he seems to have secured an assistant, « Thomas Sheffield, Under-Keeper of her Majesties House and orchard at Greenwich £ 39. 7. 4 ». This man succeeded on the death of Hunnis (1), and from April 1597, was entered as « Thomas Sheffield, Supervisor and Keeper of the Great Garden and orchard at Greenwich ».

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(1) In Patent Roll, 7 Car. I. pt. 15. m. 16 (2574) reference is made to a parcel of land in the Honor of Hampton Court, Middlesex, « whence was formerly demised to William Hunnis a pension in value i. e. 53^{s} 4^{d} ».

CHAPTER X.

MASTER OF THE CHILDREN OF THE CHAPEL ROYAL, 1566.

William Hunnis cannot meanwhile have neglected his duties in the Chapel. Indeed we may suppose he must have excelled thirty-one other deserving gentlemen in « all vertues moroll and speculatiff », for upon the death of the brilliant Richard Edwards, Master of the Children of the Chapel, 31st Oct. 1566, Hunnis had the high honour of being promptly appointed successor in his office. It is well to be quite clear as to the duties of that post. From the Liber Niger (1) under Edward IV we find that « The Master of Song, assyned to wache the children, is appointed by the Deane, chosen out of the nomber of the fellowship of the Chapell, to drawe them as well in the School of facett as in songe, in organs, and such other vertuous thinges ». It is certain that his election must have been believed to be satisfactory to Elizabeth, or it would not have taken place. He was hereafter to be very closely attached to the Royal Household. It may be remembered that « the whole chapel was not to go about with the King on his progresses, but that the Master of the Children, and six gentlemen, with some officers of the vestry, should give their continual attendance in the King's Court, and daily, in the absence of the residue, perform masses & anthems ».

There seems to have been originally two offices, or at least a duplicate duty, for a succeeding paragraph is headed « The Master of Gramere »..... « quem necessarium est in poetica, atque in Regulis positionis grammatice expeditum fore quibus audientium animos cum diligentia instruet ac informet, scilicet The King's Henxmen, the children of the Chapell, after they lerne their descant, the Clerkes of the Aumrye with other men and children of the Court disposed to learn in this syence,

(1) Harl. MS. 293, and Harl. MS. 642 f. 71. The Book of the Ordinances of the Royal Household.

which Master, if he be preeste must synge our Lady Masse in the Hyghe Chappell, or else arrange to reade the gospell, and to be at the great processions ». But the form of faith, and the rule and right of the Masters seem to have changed alike with the years. By Elizabeth's time at least, the duties of two officials seem to have been combined in one. The Master of the children was the only Master in the Chapel, though Hunnis refers to his *Usher*, in his petition of 1583.

During several proceding reigns, there had been, as well as a staff of Royal Musicians, and a separate staff of Minstrels (1), a staff of Interlude Players, and writers of Interludes and Plays, kept among other Court officials.

Partly for variety, partly in competition for the rewards, partly, it is possible, for the education of the children who had their Christmas revels for their « Boy-Bishop », the masters began to act plays before the Court with their children, and also to write them occasionally. This seems to be the practical bond of union between the « Maister of Gramere », or composition, and the « Maister of Song ».

Dr. Rimbault (2) says that the first Master of the Children whose name has come down to us was Henry Abingdon. In the Act of Resumption 13 Ed. IV. 1473-4, he was protected in the enjoyment of a salary of 40 marks a year, which had been granted him in May 5. Ed. IV. « for fynding instruction and governaunce of the children of the Chapel of our Household ». On him Sir Thomas More wrote a rhymed epitaph, shewing that he was an old man at the time of his death, and that he had formerly been a clerk in Wells,

« And such a loud singer,
In a thousand not such a ringer,
And with a concordance, a'most skilful in organs ».

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(1) In Harl. MS. 293 are mentioned « 4 Mynstralls to attend upon the King, and 9 Mynstralls coming at the principal feasts of the year ». There was a license granted to incorporate the King's Musicians into a Guild on 24th Aug. 9 Edward IV, Westminster 1469. Rymer's *Foedera* o. XIII. 705. 757. This was confirmed on Jan. 23rd 1520, and a license granted to the King's Minstrels to continue and increase their guild, founded in St. Paul's, London. The expenses of the Royal Musicians were heavy, as may be seen by the accounts of the Treasurers of the Chamber. The name of « Minstrel » seems to have passed out of favour, early in the 16th century.

(2) *History of the Cheque Book of the Chapel Royal.* 1872. Camden Series.

He was succeeded by Gilbert Banister in 22 Ed. IV (1482-3) who was protected in the same salary, for the same duties. He was a poet, and wrote « The Miracle of St. Thomas », the MS. of which, says Warton, is in Bennet College Library.

The next recorded was William Cornish, who seems to have distinguished himself even more. In Henry VII's Privy Purse Expenses, there is noted, 12th Nov. 1493, a payment « To one Cornyshe for a Prophecy in reward 13/4 » and on Christmas Day 1502, a similar sum was granted him for « a Christmas Carol ». Under him the gentlemen and the children performed before the King and the Court, and were sometimes called « The Players of the Chapel », to distinguish them from « The King's Players of Interludes ». « To Cornish for three pageants (1), £ 20, Oct. 26th, 1502 ».

Cornish was in the Fleet Prison in 1504, and wrote a poetical petition with the title « A treatise between truth and information » under the nom de plume of « Nysh-wheate (2) ». He seems to have been shortly afterwards restored to liberty, and he played before Hen. VII in 1508. « To Mr. Kyte Cornisshe and other of the Chapell that played afore the King at Richemount £ 6. 13. 4. ». « An opprobrious rime was made by Cornish (3) of the King's Chappell at the request of the Earle of Kent, forasmuch as the said Empson had deceived him of part of his lands &c » seems to refer to the date of 1509. On 12th March 1512, there was a loan advanced to William Cornish, and William Crane.

Cornish was a favourite of Hen. VIII. In 1515 a Court Interlude called « The tryumphe of Love and Bewte » was « wryten and presentyd by Mayster Cornish and others of the Chapel ». Venus and Beauty tamed a savage man and a Lion. The Interlude was much praised. Rimbault and Collier state that in November, 8 Hen. VIII there is an entry « To Master Cornish, gent of the King's Chapel, upon a warrant, in reward £ 200 ». I am inclined to believe that the £ 200 should read £ 20, which

(1) Household accounts of Hen. VII.

(2) In inversion of the syllables of his name, & the replacing of « corn » by « wheate ».

(3) Stowe's *Chronicle* page 588.

would represent three times the ordinary payment for one play, or might be the ordinary payment for two plays with a reward as above.

There are some notices which seem to suggest that, at one time, John Heywood was Master of the Children. But if so, he was never regularly appointed to the office by any formal patent. He wrote interludes, and apparently trained the singing children, in order to present them in the way he desired. The papers of Henry VIII concerning his revels are a little confusing at this time. There seems to have been more than one Cornish at Court, either father and son, or brothers, indeed at times there almost seem to have been three. And Cornish and Crane played together sometimes in such a way as suggests divided responsibilities. The bill of 9th March 1511-12, refers to a Christmas play, in which Master Subdeane figured « in green Satin, Master Cornish in White Satten, and Mr. Crane in the same », & seven gentlemen of the Chapel wore russet & yellow. On « 6th Jan. 1515, Master Kornishe, master Krane, & Mr. Harry of the Chapel, with the children of the Chapel, and Mr. Krane's child », seemed to have performed in one Interlude. On 6th Jan. 1516, Mr. William Cornish and the Master of the Revels were allowed for a Castle of timber, when Cornish and the children of the Chapel performed the « Story of Troylous and Pandor richly apparilled, also Kallkas and Krysseid in rich robes. After which Komedy was played and done, they shewed another devyse of Mr. Cornish ». It is possible that the reward of £ 200 might be intended to cover the expenses of the garments in their play, as it was granted the same year. On 13th Feb. 1516, there was a costly device in which Master Subdean, Master Kornish, Master Crane appeared and the children of the Chapel sang. In August, 1517, Cornish received board wages for the children of the Chapel, and in that year Mr. Cornish and the children of the Chapel, for playing before the King received £ 6. 13. 4. In August 1518 « Mr. Cornyshe for 2 pageants shewed on 6th July, 9 Hen. VIII £ 18. 2. 11 ½ » (1).

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(1) For Master Kornishes children the piece 2s.... 14s. Justs & devices for the marriage of the noble Earl of Devonshire, 20th. Oct. 11 Hen. VIII. Wardrobe accs. P. T. R. Hen. VIII. 217.

On 25th March 1518, Henry VIII told Cornish that Wolsey's Chapel was better than his. Evidently steps were taken to right this, for on 1st April of same year, Pace wrote to Wolsey, that « Cornish highly praises the child of your chapel sent hither, and extols Mr. Pygott for the teaching of him ».

Rimbault says that William Crane, who was a gentleman of the Chapel at least as early as 1510 (1), succeeded Cornish at some date unknown, but that he was certainly Master in 1526, because there is an entry in that year « Borde wages of the Children of the Chapel to Master Crane 26/8 », and his own quarter's wage was paid by £ 10. « William Crane, Magistro Puerorum Capellae Dom. Regis de annuitate sua ad xl^li^ per ann. sibi debet pro termine Michaelis anno XVIIImo. Regis Nunc Henrici VIII (2) ».

I have been fortunate enough to find a few more entries to add to those collected by Mr. Rimbault. Crane's patent as Master of the Children of the Chapel was granted on the 12th of May, 18 Hen. VIII (3). He was to have £ 40 a year, for instruction, vestures, and beds, for the 12 children of the Chapel. As in other cases that we have noted, he may have been appointed to his office some time before he received his patent. In the same year there was a payment through him to the children of the Chapel of £ 6. 13. 4. Several other entries concerning him appear in the State Papers (4). « For the Children of the Chapel, Bordwages, 20 Hen. VIII 1st Oct. 1529 ». « To the Children of the Chapel, for singing « Gloria in Excelsis » on Christmas Day, and St. John's Day », « to the Children of the Chapel for singing « Audivi vocem », on All Hallow Day last past 20/ ». « Item to Maister Crane for playing before the King, with the Children of the Chapell, in reward £ 6. 13. 4. ». Similar entries appear in 21 Hen. VIII, and

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(1) In the Wardrobe accounts of 3 & 4 Hen. VIII (belonging to Mr. Craven Ord.) there is a warrant for furnishing Thomas Sexton, one of the gentlemen of the Chapel, with a gown that was to cost £ 11. 18, and William Crane with one at £ 9. 12.

(2) A book of Receipts and payments of the Exchequer 18 Hen. VIII. 1526-7.

(3) Patents Hen. VIII. Vol. I. f. 26 ; also f. 192. Also Vol. II f. 11. Vol. IV pt. 1 26 Hen. VIII.

(4) See also Brewer's *Letters & Papers of Hen. VIII.*

22 Hen. VIII, when William Crane further received a sum of £ 26. 13. 4 ; as well as in 1530, 1531 and on various later dates. In 31 Hen. VIII, Jan. 1st. « Item to Mr. Crane for playing before the King with the children £ 6. 13. 4. ». There is also a bond from the Bishop of Norwich « To William Crane, Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal, £ 13. 6. 8 » which looks very much like the payment for a performance or two, but it might be for Church services.

On Feb. 15th 1524, William Crane was assessed on £ 66. 13. 4 at Westminster (1). He is the first « Master » whom we are quite sure was a married man, and therefore he was not likely to have been originally a priest. In 26 Hen. VIII, Edward, Archbishop of York wrote to Christopher Draper, Clerk, (29 Jan. 1534-5) (2) : « At the request of Mr. Secretary and your master, I lately gave you a Prebend in York, trusting you were in orders, and bore the habit of a clerk, but as I understand you are not.... I am also informed you are insured to Mr. Crane's daughter of the Chapel. If so, you can no longer enjoy any promotion ». The living to which Draper had been assigned, the Prebend of Bole, was granted to Peter Vannes, 22nd Feb. 1534-5. Another man was punished for defrauding « Crane's daughter of the Chapel (3) », shortly afterwards. The Inquisition Post Mortem of William Crane was taken, 38 Hen. VIII (4) and he must have died some time previously. The inqnisition Post Mortem of his wife was taken 5 & 6 Ed. VI (5) as « Margaret Crane, Widow ».

Others of the name were in the Royal Service, probably connected with him. Anthony Crane, Sergeant (6) is frequently mentioned in the State Papers, among the chief servants of the Royal Household.

Mr. Rimbault is uncertain about the date of his death and the appointment of his successor. But I find that Richard

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(1) Mr. Rimbault's *Cheque Book of the Chapel Royal.*
(2) Uncalendared MS. 26 Henry VIII. Pub. Record Office.
(3) Uncalendared MS, Hen. VIII.
(4) Inq. P.M. 38 Hen. VIII. 920.
(5) Inq. P.M. 56 Ed. VI. pt. 2. 104.
(6) 6 Ed. VI. 1 Mary. Patents. Vol. 8 Mary 40. 82. Patents Elizabeth 1. No. 222.

Bowyer was appointed his Successor, on the 6th Nov. 37 Hen. VIII (1545) (1). He remained in office during the reigns of Edward and Mary, and the early years of Elizabeth, being granted a Patent in each reign. He was therefore Master when William Hunnis was appointed gentleman. Like his predecessors, he directed the children in dramatic performances. « Item to Richard Bower for playing before the King's Majestie with the Children of the Chapell in rewarde £ 6. 13. 4 » 1 Ed. VI (2).

It is probable that he was either absent or ill some time previous to his death, because among various sums of money allowed there were the items «To (3) Thomas Bird of the Chapel, for the children », of the same amount as those usually paid to the Master. This may have been as representative or assistant, or merely as agent, as Thomas Bird was Clerk of the Cheque at the time. Thomas Bird died in 1561 (4), in the same year as Richard Bowyer, so he was not his successor. The receipts of Bowyer seem to have been the same as those of later masters. In 1552, we find noted in the royal expenses « Mr. of the Children, Ric. Bower, fee £ 40 (5). Largesse to ye children at feastes, £ 9. 13. 4. ; allowance for their breakfasts £ 16. ». He does not seem to have distinguished himself in any particular way, and was a very different type of man from his brilliant successor. Strype (6) states that in his time, in Greenwich Church, there was a flat stone, with a brass on it, commemorating the virtues of Bowyer. Others of his name were in the royal service.

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(1) Patent Books 37-8. Hen. VIII. Vol. II p. 12 (920).

(2) Privy Purse Expenses. 1 Ed. VI.

(3) Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber. Compotus Marie Rither and Edmond Felton. Queen's Remembrancia 77/5, 5 & 6 Ed. VI.

(4) Old Cheque Book Chapel Royal.

He was probably connected with Richard Bird, gentleman of the King's Bedchamber 1538. *S. P. D. S.* Hen. VIII. XIV ; and we know he was father of William Bird.

(5) Add. MS. 34,010 f. 32 b. also 34,320. Also Harl MS. 240.

(6) In his edition of Stow's *Survey*, vol. II 92 : Circuit Walk. Greenwich. « Within the rails are three flat stones with brass plates, one for Richard Bowyer, late gent of her Majesty's Chapel, and Master of the Children to King Henry the Eight, Edward the Sixth, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth. He deceased 26 July 1561 ».

Malone makes a curious mistake here, based upon a slip of the clerk in the Privy Council Register. He interpolates a « John Hunnis » between Richard Bowyer and William Hunnis as Master in the place of Edwards. Fortunately the old Cheque Book corrects us in all such doubts after 1561, except in the one matter of the date of Bowyer's death, which it gives incorrectly as 1563.

A peace had been made with France and Scotland, and it was arranged that the Queen of England and the Queen of Scotland were to meet at Nottingham in 1562. So certain did their conference appear to Sir W. Cecil, that he employed a poet to write a suitable device for them. His notes are these « The Devices to be shewn at the proposed meeting of the Queens in 1562 (1) ».

« First Pallas riding upon a unicorn, bearing a Standard with 2 Ladies' hands Knit. Then the Lady Prudentia and the Lady Temperantia the one riding on a crowned Red Lion, the other riding on a crowned Golden Lion followed by 6 Lady Maskers. They had made suit to Jupiter to have « *False record* » and « *Discord* », and to commit them to the prison of « *Extreme oblivion* ». « Friendship » and « prosperity » to triumph ».

It is quite possible that Cecil had this device worked out in the Chapel Royal, and it is open to consider who was likely to be the poet at this date (2). The meeting did not come off, but the materials seem to have been utilised for the Masque before the French Ambassador in 1572.

Richard Edwards was appointed Bowyer's successor in 1561, the day of the month not being entered in the Cheque Book. But his Patent, couched in the same terms as that of William Hunnis, was granted him on 27th Oct. 3 Eliz. (1561) to succeed Richard Bowyer deceased.

« He (3) was born in Somerset in 1523, and educated under

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(1) Lansdowne MS. XXXI.

(2) The plague time lasted from Jan. 1562-3 till December 1564. The Queen visited Cambridge in August, 1564, where « Thomas Preston acted so well in the tragedy of Dido, and did so genteelly and gracefully dispute before her, that she gave him £20 a year for so doing. He became afterwards L.L.D., and Master of Trinity Hall ». Nichols' *Royal Progresses*, I. 149.

(3) Grove's *Dictionary of Music*, I. 768. Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses*, I. 353.

George Etheridge, one of the most excellent vocal and instrumental musicians in England, of whom nothing more is known ». He was a student of Corpus Christi, and became senior student of Christ Church, Oxford, on its foundation. There he graduated, 1548. Wood says he was also a member of Lincoln's Inn. Edwards describes in one of his poems in the *Paradise of Dainty Devices*, how he went forth to seek his fortune at Court, « a slender tall young man », asking his father's blessing ere he went. He seems to have been appointed to some office, as among the « Fees and annuities of Edward VI (1) » there is an entry « Richard Edward £ VI 13. 4d. But as I noted in Chapter IV he was gentleman of the Chapel, at least by 1557, for among the New Year presents to Queen Mary 1556-7 were « verses from Edwards of the Chapel ». I think it possible these may be the verses preserved in the British Museum, in which he praises certain ladies, who seem to have been the maids of honour to Mary. Their names are 1. Howarde 2. Dacres 3. Baynham (2) 4. Arundell 5. Dormar (3) 6. Mancell 7. Coke 8. Briges (4).

« 7. Coke is cumly and thereto in bokes sekes all her care
In lerning with the Romayne dames of ryght she may compare.
8. Briges is a blessed wighte, and prayth with harte and voyce,
Whiche from her cradell hath bene taught in vertue to rejoice.
Thes eghyte nowe serves our noble Quene, but if powre were in me
For bewtie, prayse, and vertue's sake, each one a Quene shoulde be »
Finis R. E.

Elizabeth could not have stood even this suggestion of rivalry. Edwards took a high rank as a lyric poet of his times, and is noted as Collector, if not Editor, of the *Paradise of Dainty Devices*. When appointed Master of the Children, Edwards wrote his own plays. We know at least of three of his composition, one unnamed Drama, alluded to in the Prologue to *Damon and Pythias*, as having given offence by being too erotic ; *Damon and Pythias*, played at Windsor, in the

(1) Treasurer of Rec. Unclassified Miscell. No. 69. P. R. O.

(2) Mentioned among Mary's attendants in the reign of Hen. VIII.

(3) Jane Dormer, Mary's maid of honour, married Count di Feria, Philip's chief nobleman. (See *Spanish State Papers relating to England* impublished).

(4) She became Lady Dudley, sister-in-law of Henry Dudley. See p. 54.

Christmas week of 1564 by the Children of the Chapel ; and *Palamon and Arcyte* (1).

The expenses of *Damon and Pythias*, not mentioned in the Acts of the Privy Council, are preserved in a stray leaf among the State Papers. The play is there spoken of as « Edward's Tragedy », but on its licence in 1567-8, it was called « a tragicall comedy (2) ». It does not seem to have been published until 1571. The book is rare, but there is a reprint among Dodsley's *Old Plays*. Mr Ward calls it a « clumsy play », but it was immensely popular among Edward's contemporaries (3).

His *Palamon and Arcite*, performed before the Queen at Oxford, in the Hall of Christ Church on the evenings of the 2nd and 4th September 1566, when the Queen was there in progress, was even more appreciated. The Courtiers feared he would go mad if he were to write such another play. « At the commencement, part of the Stage fell, killing three persons and wounding five, but the actors went on when the Queen arrived », (Wood's *Athen. Oxon.*). The hunting scene was really performed in the College Court (4), and the Queen was much amused at the excitement of the College lads, who stretched their necks out of the windows to see, calling out « they have him, they have him ». Elizabeth was so charmed with the acting and singing of the boy who represented the Lady Emilia gathering flowers in the garden, that it is said she sent for him, and gave him 8 gold angels as a reward. He is believed to have been young Peter Carew, a very beautiful lad. She also sent for Edwards, and praising his work (5), while quoting his lines, she promised to reward him more fully. But she was too

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(1) See Nichols' *Royal Progresses* I. 210. Miss Strickland's *Lives*, Elizabeth, IV. 253.

(2) 1567-8. Richard Jonnes, the tragicall comode of Dammonde and Pethyas iiij^{d}. Stat. Reg. Arber.

(3) See G. Turberville's Epitaph, page 149.

(4) Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses*. I. 353. Miss Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of England*, IV. 254. Nichols' *Royal Progresses* I. 210.

(5) Professor Ward in his *History of Engl. Dram. Hist.* I. 154 says that the Players of Queen Elizabeth's Household did not seem to have contributed much to Dramatic Literature. But the officers of the Chapel were reckoned as of the Household.

late. He died, unrewarded, at the end of the following month. Barnaby Googe in his *Eclogs, Epitaphs and Sonnets* 1563, wrote one « Of Edwards of the Chapel », speaking of his plays as well known then, and in G. Turberville's *Epitaphs, Epigrams, Songs, and Sonetts*, 1570 are two elegies on his death, one by George Turberville himself, the other by Thomas Twine. The latter calls him « The Flower of our Realme » and « The Phoenix of our age » and says.

« Thy tender Immes and rhymes
Wherein thou wontst to play
Each princely dame of court and town,
Shall bear in mind alway.

Thy Damon and his friend,
Arcite and Palamon,
With more full fit for princes' ears,
Though thou from earth art gone,
Shall still remain in fame » &c.

Webbe, Puttenham, and Meres also praise him.

The name of Edwards is not uncommon at the time either at the Court or at the University. Richard Edwards has been by some carelessly credited with « The Epitaph on the Earl of Pembroke, by M. Edwards » i. e. Mr. Edwards, 1569-70 (1). But he pre-deceased the Earl by some years. It was more probably by C. Edwards, who wrote in *The Mansion of Mirth* 1581. There was also a *George* Edwards of the Chapel mentioned in the lists before the opening of the Cheque-book, and also in the Cheque-book. Thomas Edwards was one of the extraordinary yeomen of the guard in 5 and 6 Eliz. (2) and a patent was granted to some one of this name, probably the same, to secure him a little extra pension as « vibrellator » in the Tower, in place of Robert Bendebow, lately defunct, on 24th April 9. Eliz. (3). It is possible, nay, probable that he is the author of *Cephalus and Procris, and Narcissus* 1595.

Richard Edwards died 31st October 1566. The date of the

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(1) Stat. Reg. I. 412.

(2) Acconnt of Treasurer of the Chamber. Pipe Office 541.

(3) Auditor's Patent Books. No. 9, 1559-1574 24th April 9. Eliz. It is the very next patent to that of Hunnis as Master of the Children.

appointment of Hunnis is entered in the Cheque-book of the Chapel, as 15th Nov. 8 Eliz. (1). But the formal patent was not made out for him until the 22nd April, 9 Eliz. (2). This leaves nearly six months to get through the formalities preliminary to the grant, a point to be reckoned, when considering other patents. He was to receive, like his predecessor £40 a year, payable each term, to teach and clothe the 12 children of the Chapel.

In studying the names and appointments in the Cheque-book of the Chapel Royal, I noted that the sub-dean was generally elected from among the gentlemen, just as the master of the children was. So it followed either that some of the gentlemen were in orders, or that the priesthood was not necessary for the appointment. For instance John Angell was entered as an ordinary gentleman, in the lists of the opening of Mary's reign (3) ; he was subdean when the present old Cheque-book commenced in 1561. In 1591 « Anthony Anderson sworn gentleman in Mr Mundaie's room ». In 1592 « Anthony Anderson sworne subdeane the 25th July in Subdeane' Greene's room. In 1593 Anthony Anderson subdeane died 10th October, and Leonard Davies sworn subdeane in his place the 15th of the same ».

The Subdeane took precedence over the Master of the Children, but the Master took precedence over all the other gentlemen. I followed the lists of subscribing witnesses when any took the oaths during his time to note the autographs (4). *William Hunnis* always signed immediately after the Subdeane. It is very surprising to me that Mr Rimbault should have stated in the notes to his transcript of the Cheque-book. « Here follows a signature which it is *impossible* to decipher ». To me the original seems perfectly legible, clear, and unmistakeable, being written in one of the fashionable styles of court handwriting of his day « William Hunnys ». It is however a peculiar

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(1) « Richard Edwards Master of the Children died the laste of October, and William Hunnis was made Mr of the Children 15th November 1566 ».

(2) Auditor's Patent Books No. 9. 1559-1574 22nd April 9. Eliz. See my terminal notes.

(3) See page 21.

(4) Through the kindness of the Dean of the Chapel Royal I was allowed to see the original Old Cheque-Book.

hand, and may be compared with the signatures of the members of the Council, when attesting their deeds or warrants (1), as it much resembles their style (2).

Nothing has come down to us concerning the way in which Hunnis treated the boys under his charge. If he had been severe we should likely have heard of it, as we have heard of the troubles of Tusser, born 1523.

Tusser tells us he was in Wallingford where he was pressed,

« Thence for my voice, I must, no choyse
Away of force, like posting horse
For sundry men had placards then
Such child to take.

The better brest, the lesser rest
To serve the queer, now there, now here
For time so spent, I may repent
And sorrow make.

But marke the chance, myself to vance,
By friendships lot to Paul's I got,
So found I grace, a certaine space
Still to remaine.

With Redford there, the like no where
For cunning such and Virtue much
By whom some part of music art
So did I gaine ».

« The Lamentation of Boys learning Prick-Song », being written by the Master of the Children at St. Paul's himself, may be treated as a humorous account of what he imagined his boys felt regarding him, or as a memory of his own youth.

« He plukth us by the nose, he plukth us by the hawes,
He plukth us by the eares wyth his most unhappie pawes,
And all for this pevysh pryksong, not worth to strawes
That we poore sylye boyes abyde much woe.

He sayth we syng starke nowght, when we make a right good noyse,
For I tell you he must have his knackes, ye, he must have his toyse,
Oh! the plague that we have wyth hym, we little poore boys,
Truly poore boyes abide much woe ».

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(1) *S. P. D. S.* Eliz. e. g. XLII, XLV, and signatures of Earl of Pembroke.

(2) See Harl MS 1641-4. The signature of his son Robert Hunnis, page of the Earl of Essex, and afterwards servant to the Earl of Leicester, is of the same character, though differing in detail.

Several verses more by Master John Redford are preserved in the British Museum. « The Marriage of Wit and Science » by John Redford was edited by Halliwell Phillips, for the Shakespeare Society (1).

As Christopher Tye seems to have become organist of the Chapel, the first musician mentioned as specially filling that office, Hunnis need not have been specially proficient in organ-playing, as former masters were bound to be. Nothing has been recorded of his musical capabilities, but I think it is fair to give him the benefit of the doubt concerning the Kenilworth music.

Only slight references occur as to the Chapel duties of William Hunnis, otherwise than those concerning plays. Elizabeth's increasing taste for the Drama of itself would suggest that histrionic power was his essential talent, and that he must have given evidence of some special capability in this direction before the death of Richard Edwards, or he would not have been selected to fill his place. The Revels' Book frequently mentions his after-work in a way that should make any student surprised that until now the name of William Hunnis should have been excluded from every History of the Drama, and every list of authors, players, or managers.

It is unfortunate that none of the plays with which he was concerned, have come down to us. That his works should have been lost, however, is not surprising. There was a very stringent etiquette that no play should be acted at court, which had been printed. It is quite possible that he kept his in his own hands, meaning to edit them, and was dissuaded by Puritanic friends, or private religious scruples. The uncertainties of the Stationer's Registers (for we find many books printed that were never licenced), the frequent disappearance of all the copies of some licensed works, make it very difficult to prove whether or not they had been printed. Some of his

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(1) See Addit. MS. 15233. John Redford probably died in 1559, when he was succeeded by Sebastian Westcott. Morley mentions him in *The Introduction to Music*, 1597 immediately after Cornish.

poems, of which there were many editions, now survive in single copies ; one has vanished altogether (1).

We are ignorant even of the very names of some of the plays he performed. The Treasurers of the Chamber were more anxious to account for the sums of money they spent, than to satisfy the literary hunger of posterity by giving full details, or by spelling difficult names. Old State papers at one time, were not treasured as they are now, and sad stories abound as to the various causes of their disappearance. The « Revels' Book » itself exists only in fragments, with gaps and incompleteness, even during the short period which it has preserved for us.

Yet with all these disadvantages, the details that have come down to us, are so interesting when pieced together, that I think it wiser to treat the histrionic relations of this master of the Children in a chapter apart, as a special contribution towards the History of the Revels.

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(1) It seems to me possible that even yet, in some unexpected quarter, some play may be found, in whole or in part that may with reason be attributed to him, the very obscurity into which his name has dropped favours the chance.

CHAPTER XI.

ARMIGER, 1568.

William Hunnis had a grant of arms on the fourteenth February 1568, whether old or new style I have not been able to find out. Burke's *General Armoury* gives the concise description « Middlesex, Hunnis, Arms, Bendy of six or and az, a unicorn ramp, vert, armed ar.

Crest. Between two honeysuckles ppr, a Unicorn's head couped or charged with two bendlets ».

Ordinary students are forced to trust to second hand information, if they apply to the Herald's College. Therefore in this case I did not do so, as I only care to compare details personally. But I have found, from other sources, that in connection with this grant, there is some confusion, correction and alteration. There are no fewer than three copies of these arms in the British Museum, Manuscript Department (1), distinguished only from each other, by different lengths of the Honeysuckles sprays « proper », and from Burke, by the Unicorn being described as Salient, instead of Rampant. A very handsome coat it made, as it was duly designed and presented by Dethick, Cooke and Flower.

The Biographers of Hunnis, down to the latest in the Dictionary of National Biography, all accept Burke's statement without checking it. There is however no proof that he ever did use these arms during his life, while there is clear proof, that he used others. Probably some objection may have been raised by some family bearing a similar coat, as was the case in the Shakespeare grant. Possibly Hunnis objected to it himself, as not duly illustrating personal associations. In the Bodleian Library (2) we find not only the reason of his being

(1) Harl. MS. 1441. vol. II. f. 10^b also Harl. MS. 1359 f. 54^b Add. MS. 12. f. 454.
(2) Ashmole MSS. 844. Extracts of Honour from 13 John to end of Elizabeth's reign.

granted arms and the outlines of his original draft, but the outline of the corrected draft. The recital « The newe armes and creast for Hunnys » is worth noting, as it has never been printed.

« And whereas we the sayd kyngis of armes are credibly informyd » by dyuers honest and discreet personages that William Hunnys of » the County of Middlesex, gentleman of the Queene's Maiesties » Chappell, and Mr of her highnes children in the same, hath of longe » tyme used himselfe so vertuously and discreetely that he well » deseruith and meryteth to be in all places of honour admittyd, » reputyd, and taken in the nomber and company of other gentils. In » consideration whereof and for a further declaracion of the worthynes » of the sayd William Hunnys and at his instant request, we the sayd » Kinges of Armes by power and authoryte to us committed by » letters patentes under the greate seale of England, as also with the » assent and consent of the high and mightie prince Thomas Duke of » Norfolk, Earle Mareschal of England, have assygned, gyven and » grauntyd unto the sayd William Hunnys these Armes and Creast » followinge, that is to say : The filde bendy of six pieces gold and » azure, over all an Unycorne saliant (« saliant » crossed through and » « *ascendant* » written over it) vert horne and hoofed (*and* crossed » through and over it *mane*) argent upon a beauline on a torce gold » and azure (last three words crossed out, and over them « of his » colors »). An unycornes hedde bendy of foure, gold and azure » betweene too braunches of hony suclis in proper couler, mantelyd » gules doublyd argent. As more playnly may appeare depictyd in » this margent. Which Armes and creast and every part and parcell » thereof we the sayd Garter, Clarencieulx, and Norroy Kingis of » Armis do by these presentes ratefy, confirme, gyve, and graunt » unto the sayd William Hunnys and to his posteryte for ever, and » he the same armes and creast to use, beare, and shew at all tymes » and for ever heereafte at his liberty and pleasure, without the » impedyment lett or interruption of any person or persons.

» In wittness whereof » etc.

» Datyd the 14th February, 1568.

The arms appear under these, but they are all scratched through. At the side and at the foot is written in the same handwriting « This is all altered ». Beside this *cast-off coat* of arms appears the new idea. A shield with three Beehives, two above and one below with heraldic letters marking the true

colours ; and a Herald's note, « These be the new Armes, seek whether it be a cheveron or a fese between the three Beehives ». The crest was a man's head with a large dart going right through the face from the left cheek bone to the right lower jaw (1) ; a most uncomfortable looking representation. If the face is meant as a portrait, it is the only likeness we have of the man. Doubtless the dart, was intended as a souvenir of his early troubles. That these were the arms he really accepted and afterwards bore, is clearly shewn by their appearing in the frontispiece of the volume entitled *A Hive full of Hunnye* which appeared in 1578, dedicated to the Earl of Leicester.

For my own part I prefer the Herald's choice, but William's choice is evidently the one which does not appear in Burke, and which his posterity should use, had he any direct descendants. Perhaps some allusion may have been intended to bees kept in Greenwich Gardens, as well as to the frequent literary puns upon his name. Yet it is strange that while he retains the Hives that hold the honey ; he lets slip the « honeysuckle », which it is evident, through all his life, he much delighted in associating with himself.

Similar arms are quartered with those of the Waldegraves of Essex (2), by intermarriage with the Frayes ; and it is curious that no protest seems to have been made against their use by Hunnis.

When a man receives a grant of arms for good behaviour in an ordinary calling, we may be quite sure that his ancestors had not been very brilliant. The difficulty of finding any possible ancestors at all has in this case been enormously increased by the loose spelling of the period. The Reverend Joseph Hunter (3) suggests that the name is so rare, that it might be meant for William Hunnings. This idea must be at

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(1) In his poem in the *Paradise of Dainty Devises*. « Being asked the occasion of his white head », n° 4, he says « Where thought hath thrilde and thrown his speare to hurt the hart that harmed him not ».

(2) Waldegrave of Borley, Essex, and Stanyhall, Norfolk « arms quarterly in 12, the sixth Fraye. Ermine a fesse sable between three beehives d'or ». Buers Church contains their tombstones.

See also *Essex Review*, Vol. III, p. 206. July 1894.

(3) *Chorus Vatum Anglicanorum*. Add. MS. 24, 488, (277). Brit. Museum.

once discarded. William Hunnings had a patent to provide fish for the Royal Household, in 1 Hen. VIII. He was clerk of the Privy Council in 37 Hen. VIII, and he remained in the Royal service until his death in 1559. Though he had fourteen sons (1), he and they seem always to have been well to do (2); and his son Peter had a grant of arms in 1573 (3).

The numerous variants of this apparently simple name are worth noting, if only as a lesson in Elizabethan philology. Two syllables with a medial consonant « n » and a terminal sibilant, seemed all that scribes were sure of. Any vowels seemed sufficient to make up the contemporary pronunciation of the name with or without the « h ». In authorities which quite clearly refer to the subject of this memoir I have found the name spelt in the following ways. « Ennys, Eynes, Hannys, Henes, Henus, Hennesse, Hennys, Hinnis, Hinneys, Hinnys, Hinnewes, Hinis, Hones, Honnes, Honnies, Honys, Honnys, Honneys, Honesse, Hounes, Hunys, Hunus, Hunneyes, Hunnies, Huneys, Hunneys, Hunes, Hunnes, Hunnesse, Hunesse, Hunnis, Hunnisse, Hunnye, Hunnys, Hunnins, Hynys, Hynis, Hynus, Innes, Ynnys, Yunys »

Though through careful search I have been able to identify him under these various phonetic variations of his name, it is not legitimate to attempt to establish a connection with others who spelt their name in any of the varieties without some clear proof. There are wills in Somerset House of testators bearing some of these varying names, who might have been connected, but I can prove nothing from them.

It has been suggested that he might have been a descendant of Richard Hunne, who was murdered in he Lollard's Tower, 1514. The genitive is spelt « Hunnys » (4) in the description of his case. We know that he left infant children, and a variation

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(1) *Archaeological Journal.* Vol. XVII, 1859.
Collectanea Topographica. Vol. VII, p. 394.

(2) Will of Christopher Barker 1549, Wills of Court of Hustings. Dr. R. Sharpe.

(3) Ashmolean MS. 844.

(4) See Account of the Life and death of Richard Hunne. also *Letters and Papers of Hen. VIII.* Vol. II, p. 1, f. 3 & f 1313. Also *Harl. Miscellany* 1. « The very Beggar's Petition against Popery » to Hen. VIII. 1538.

may have been made to elude the attention of Summoners, but I do not think so.

In early dates we find a Henry de Hune (1) witness to a grant. Martin le Hunne (2) tenant in homage to the abbot of Eynsham ; Ailwin Hunne (3) between the reigns of Ed. I and Edward III. Edmund Hune (4) 1351 ; and Andrew and Reginald Hunne of Croffield in Suffolk 1464. There is a parish of Hunnesworth, County Stafford, mentioned in the Rot. Hundredorum II. 116. There was also a property called Hunesdune or Hunsdon ; and a similar place-name near Abingdon in Berkshire, « Thonne on hunnes hylle », a (5) boundary of Brynningtune, « Onbutan Hunes dune », the measurement of Stanmere, « that to Hunes Cnolle » the measurement of Wasingatune, « thonnon to Hunnes Cnolle to Geocburnan » in the charter of King Edgar. That is the district whence Marchadine Hunnis came. The oldest « Honis » found is Beatrice Honis, who paid 6d to the « Lay subsidies of Huntingdon, 1 Edward III. $^{122}/_{4}$ membrane, 2. b. ».

Hony was a Sussex name, a variant being Honys ; a foreign name also, as Peter Hony, a native of Guelderland, was made a denizen at Westminster 3rd July 31, Hen. VIII p. 6. m. 6. There was a family Hannys in Worcester, Stafford, and Warwickshire ; John Hannys gentleman (6) was master of the Guild of the Holy Cross Stratford-on-Avon temps. Hen. VI and Hen. VII. There were « Haynes » in Barking and Ilford, where we know William Hunnis at one time resided (7) who spelt their name in many different ways. Doctor Simon Haynes (8), or Heynes, Dean of Exeter and friend of Lord Cromwell, became a Royal Amdassador. Attendant on the Queen in the buttery was George Haines (9) or Heynes ; a William Haynes

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(1) British Museum Charters, Hants, B. 1059.

(2) *Rotuli Hundredorum*, Vol. II, p. 411.

(3) Catalogue of Ancient Beeds. Public Record Office. A. 16. 11.

(4) Addit. Charters, Vol. IV, 10,068 Brit. Museum. Hune was also an old French name.

(5) *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, Berkshire, edited by Rev. Joseph Stevenson, 1858, Vol. II.

(6) *Records of the Guild of the Holy Cross*, Stratford-on-Avon.

(7) Subsidy Rolls of Essex and uncalendared MS. S. Hen. VIII, 1545 Boxe.

(8) *Letters and Papers Hen. VIII.* Vol. IX, 54, etc.

(9) *Ibid.* 10 Sept. 24 Hen. VIII.

was a Merchant Taylor of London, a William Heynes, purveyor of fish, received a lease in Porchester (1), a William Heynes in Cripplegate Without, did not pay the assessment in (2) 1585 ; and a family of the name was resident in Westminster. James Hynes, grocer of Westminster, is entered among those who can lend money to the State (£ 100) in 1588 (3).

William Heynes was the King's Servant at Ludlow 1535 (4) ; « and a William Heynes brought information against the Vicar of Brome that same year », witness Sir Richard Heynes Clark. There was also a Henry Heynes of Allesly, Warwick, at that date.

Resembling names appear on the continent, Wilkyn Henies of Hamburg, had some dispute with Sir Thomas Pullison (5), and the scholars Hunnaeus and Hunnius are well-known.

The most interesting spelling was that of Ennys. There was a Cornish family of the name, and an Irish family, who spelt their name Ennis, Among « the gentlemen that remained unplaced » in Cromwell's time were « Thomas Eynnis Secretary (6) (formerly in the service of the Duke of Richmond), and Edward Waldegrave. In the reign of Ed. VI this Thomas Eynnis (7), or Ennys, was appointed Secretary to the Council of the North, with a salary of £ 33. 6. 8. He appears as « Squire » among the annuitants of Mary's and Elizabeth's reign, receiving £ 26. (8) 13. 4. till 1588, his name being spelt Eynes, Eynnis, Eynnus. I have come to believe that the cause of William Hunnis being entered in his attainder charge as « Thomas Hinnewes », arose from some confusion in the clerk's mind concerning this official, who might have been a relative. A Captain William Eynes

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(1) *Book of Leases S. P. D. S.* Eliz. CLXVI.

(2) Lansdowne MS. XLIX.

(3) Lansdowne MS. LVI f. 3.

(4) *Letters and Papers Hen. VIII.* Vol. VIII, f. 833, 923, 1081, also Vol. XII, f. 408.

(5) Lansdowne CLVII Art, 170, f. 380.

(6) Invent Hen. VIII. MS. Reg. VII, CXVI, f. 94, Letter from Thomas Eynus to Cromwell. State Papers, 1539.

(7) *S. P. D. S.* 30, Hen. VIII, also *S. P. D.* S. Appendix, Ed. VI, III, f. 47. He was married on Dec. 3rd 1547 « Thomas Eynis Esq. and Elizabeth Nevell of the city of London », in margin « Eynnes » Harl. Soc. Public. Marriage Licences. Faculty Office.

(8) Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber Pipe Office 541, 542.

« of good family » a friend of Sir Thomas Smith, follower of Sir Philip Sidney, and afterwards of Sir Walter Raleigh (1), appears in a Star Chamber affair in Elizabeth's reign 1600. Anthony Enowse, servant to Sir William Fitzwilliam, was paid for bringing letters from Ireland twice in 1573 (2). He was afterwards vice-constable (3) of Dublin Castle, and in 1584 John Ball petitioned Burghley for payment of the sum of £ 602. 19. 6. due his wife Elizabeth, widow and sole executrix of Anthony Enowse. The only clue to an Irish connection for William Hunnis, was his reference to « Certain suits in Ireland », at his trial (4). But he always speaks of England as « my country ».

In connection with the Greenwich Garden patent, I pointed out the possibility of relationship between William Hunnis, and the previous holder, Philip Innes (5). There was a family of that name in Westminster, and curiously enough there was granted in 1553, a « patent of John Innes to receive the first Almsman room vacant in the Cathedral Church of Westminster, and to pay him £ 6. 8. 4. yearly, until such room be vacant » (6). William's own name was spelt « Ynys » by the Overseers of the Poor, Westminster, and in the list of Offices created by Elizabeth, he appears as « William Innes custod (7) pomar », etc. I have given these names, because any of them *may* be related to Hunnis ; but one of the name has been discovered, that may almost certainly be reckoned as an ancestor. Among the Inquisitions Post Mortem we find, « In Guildhall, City of London, in Ward of Chepe, before Nicholas Alwyn, Escheatour, in the presence of John Payntour and others, the Inquisition post mortem of the goods and chattels, of Richard Lee, grocer, who died « 2th September 15. Hen. VII (8) ». This states « In the 21st year of the reign of Edward IV, late King of England, the said Richard Lee had six messuages in Thames

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(1) 42 Eliz. A. Bundle X. No 4 Sir Edward Coke, versus, Eynes.
(2) Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber, Pipe Office, 542.
(3) St. Pap. Irish Ser. Eliz. 47 (95) ; 109 (60) ; and 140 (58, 59).
(4) See page 85.
(5) See page 133.
(6) Patents 1 Mary.
(7) Treas. of Rec. Unclassified Miscell. No. 69. Fees and Annuities from Hen. VIII to Elizabeth. P. R. O.
(8) Inquis. P. M. 15 Hen. VII. October. Guildhall.

Street, etc. ». He had enfeoffed them to John Foge, Armiger, John Lee, Clerk, William Fish, gent, and Alan Hunnes, gent, to the use of the said Richard Lee his son ; and the said John Foge, Armiger, John Lee Clerk, William Fisher, gent, and Alan Hunnes gent, being since then dead », other arrangements had been made.

This Alan Hunnes therefore died too early to have been the father of the Elizabethan William, but he might have been the grandfather. It is curious that he should have been associated with Richard Lee, father and son, both distinguished members of the Grocer's Company. I found among the uncalendered manuscripts of Henry VIII's reign at the Record Office (1), an obligation dated 20th June 1536 whereby William Houynes and Richard Cowper become liable for £ 100 ; at the margin the names are spelt, « William Huynes and Richard Cooper ». This man would have been old enough to have been the father of William Hunnis, but I have no clue to connect the two.

In Arber's Stationer's Registers, a note introductory preserves Berthelet's account to Hen. VIII 6th Jan. 1542 : « Item, delivered to Maister Hynwisshe to the Kings use, a paper Booke of VI. queres royall gorgiously bound in leather 7/6 ». This is also printed in the Journal of the Archaeological Society VIII, 44. I must confess that the original MS. (2) seems to me to read Hymrisshe, rather than Hynwisshe and with this the experts of the British Museum agree. If Professor Arber's reading is correct, it may represent our author's name, but it would seem to be too early to represent himself.

It is almost as difficult to trace his descendants as his ancestors. One only we are sure of, « little Robin ».

I have certainly found at least two wives (3) for William, both of them widows. His second wife Mrs. Blanck, grocer, resided in St Olave's Southwark (4), very near, if not upon London Bridge (5). « Received of William Honies for the same

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(1) Thomas Cromwell's Book of Specialities, Vol. X. f. 1171, 19. Hen. VII to Hen. VIII, 31.

(2) Addit. MS. 28, 196. British Museum.

(3) See page 116.

(4) See page 123.

(5) Churchwarden's accounts, Bridge Ward, St. Olave's Southwark.

shop, 13/4 » in 1563. In the Registers of that Parish, only commencing 1583, occur many names that might have been intended for his. « A Jeffrey (1) Ennis, son of William Ennis, was christened 27th Sept. 1583 ». « A Hercules Ennys, and Agnes Carter » were married 1584; and again on 22nd June 1588, « Hercules Ennys married Ellen Norman ». It is quite possible that Jeffrey was a son of the Master of the Children, named in honour of Chaucer, and that Hercules may have been an elder son whose name was associated with some of his plays. William Henys (2) held the honorary office of Collector for the poor of Southwark, 1564. But though the family had business premises in the Borough, we know from other sources that they also had a country house or farm in Ilford.

A certificate 14th November 28 Eliza. 1585 was granted, that « William Hunnis, Master of the Children of Her Majesty's Chapel, is mostly resident at Court ». This certificate is sent in by Sir Francis Knowles, Treasurer of the Household, Sir James Crofts, Comptroller, and Gregory Lovell, Cofferer, Commissioners for taxing the second payment of the subsidy granted 27 Eliza. It appears to be sent in from the Hundred of Becontree in Essex. He had been charged on £ 40 goods. On the dorse is a note of William Hunnes being assessed in Great Ilford Ward, in the parish of Barking, in the Hundred of Becontree on £ 15, fee. The Rev. J. Hunter says (3). « I have a copy of a letter from William Nutbrowne to Sec. Burghley dated 8th Nov. 1579, complaining of William Hunnis, the Queen's servant, about a patent which had been granted to the said Nutbrown. This is probably the same, as a Knevet is mentioned in it ». This association with the Nutbrowns, an old Essex family helps to decide the neighbourhood in which Hunnis dwelt. They seem, both from the subsidy rolls and the Registers to have been resident in the parish of Barking,

The residence of Hunnis at Ilford may account for his great intimacy with the Rev. Thomas Newton, the Epigramatist, though his acquaintance dated from an earlier date.

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(1) Register. St. Olave's Southwark.

(2) Vestry Book. St. Olave's Southwark. He *was* the subject of this memoir.

(3) *Chorus Vatum Anglicanorum,* Collections for the Biographies of distinguished men, by the Rev. Joseph Hunter Add. MS. 24, 488.

Among the Burial Registers of Barking, appear many of the resembling names, Heines, Heynes, Haynes, one even, Rachel Heynes (1st March 1574) seems almost to give an echo of the name of little Rachel Brigham.

Among the christenings appears one, which seems to have been that of a godson, « Hunnis, son of Mr. Thomas Pownsett, 6th March, 1576 ». The burial of *Mrs. Hunnis* is recorded clearly on 5th July, 1588.

There seem to have been many interesting people in the neighbourhood, William Dethick the Herald, Mr. Clowes the Queen's Chirurgion ; Mr. Wilde of Her Majesty's Chapel ; and many of the names of Edwards, Rogers, Gascoigne, Laneham, Throckmorton, Cooke, Hall, and Hampden, are mentioned, during the time of Hunnis, in some section of the Registers.

Meanwhile in the Registers of St. Margarets Westminster, there are also traces of resembling names (1) « 4th August 1572 Christened, Elizabeth Haynes, daughter of William Haynes » ; 7th Oct. 1564 William Henes, son of William Henes.

Burials « 27th January, Alis Haynis, ye daughter of William Haynis » « 1565 ». « 5th October, Cyprian Haynes, son to William Haynes, 1567 ». « 24th August, Freses Haynes, daughter to Willm Haynis, 1570 ».

In 1567 there was a chorister of the name, in Magdalen College, Oxford, called simply « Hunnis (2), res. 1569 ». Was this « little Robin » the Earl of Essex's page ? There is nothing to determine the question.

Another of the name appeared in the same College later, among the list of *Demies*. « Mercadine or (3) Marchadine

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(1) In 3 Ed. VI, there was buried a child, probably named after him. « Also received of Hunnisse Hyl for his grave 3d ». Churchwardens' accounts'. St. Margarets. Westminster.

(2) J. R. Bloxam's *Magdalen College Registers*. Choristers, Vol. I, p. 18. A note says « Many of these Choristers rose to great distinction afterwards ».

(3) *Ibid.* Demies. Vol. V. 27.

The number of these « poor scholars » was not to be over thirty, they were not to commence study under 12, nor to remain in College after 25 ; they were to be « adorned with good moral character, well-conditioned, and likely to study and make real proficiency ». The seven senior Demies were to pray for the souls of Sir John Fastolf and his Consort, who had been large benefactors to the College.

Hunnis, matriculated at Magdalene Hall, 1st July 1602. Plebs Fil. Berks. aged 16, elected Demy, 1603. B. A. 24th Jan. 1606-7 res. M. A. 1609, inc. 1610.

Mercadine Hunnis succeeded Tompkins as Usher on 9th July 1610, when he resigned his Demyship. He remained two years in the school, in which he does not seem to have given satisfaction. The following report of him is entered in the Vice-President's Register « Dec. 23. 1611. Mr. Hunnis, hostiariis Scholae Grammaticalis convocatis tredecim Senioribus, per Domn Praesidentem premonitus fuit, ut infra tres menses ab officio Hostiarii recederet, quod post primam admonitionem denuo ad illud officium praestandum insufficiens habebatur juxta Statutem de Magistro seu Informatore et ejus Hostiario».

Marchadine Hunnis wrote some poor verses introductory to « Pleasure's Vision, with Desert's Complaint, and a short Dialogue of a Woman's properties between an old man and a young », by Arthur Newman of the Middle Temple, gent, dedicated to Sir George Newman, Knight, London, printed by J. E. for Thomas Bayley. 1619. 12mo ». This shows at least that Marchadine still retained some status among cultured men. Rare as it is to find the name spelt in this way, Marchadine can hardly be accepted as a descendant of William Hunnis, as he is entered as « plebs fil. Berks », whereas Master William was « Arm. Middlesex ». Berkshire may very probably have been the cradle of the family, and Marchadine may have been a cousin who did not share in the grant of the cost of arms. Literary tastes may have run in the family, as well as musical talent.

The only one of the name that I have been able to trace at a later date was Thomas, a friend or dependent of the Bishop of Bath and Wells. I know nothing further of him than what is given in his will. This suggests a lonely life, and the termination of a family line. In years it was quite possible that he might have been a son of William, or a grandson, but I have found no link of connection otherwise than the correctly spelt family name, the position in life, and the Christian name « Thomas » that was so closely associated with William at the critical turning point of his life.

« On the 17th day of October 1622 (1) Thomas *Hunnys* Gent, being sick in his bed, in the Lord Bishoppe of Bath and Wells, his Pallas in Wells, being of perfect mind and memorye, was moved by Mr. Richard Phillipps who came to visit him, to make his will, and so dispose his money and goods, and thereupon the said Thomas Hunnys willed the said Mr. Phillips to take the key of his Trunck, and to search what gold and silver he had there, which being seene, he again asked the said Mr. *Hunys* uppon whom he would bestowe, and to whom he would give that gold and silver, and other goods he had. The said Mr. *Hunnis* then answeared and said « That the Lord Bishoppe of Bath and Wells, and Mr. Moore, attendant to the said Lord Bishoppe shall have all that I have, equally to be devided betwixt them », they to see his bodie well and decently buried. Witnesses hereunto Richard Phillips, Richard Starie and others.

Among the Privy Signet patents for May 1603, is one « Hunnys. The office in reversion of keeping the South gate of the Park of Havering, with the fee of 2d by the day, for Thomas Hunnys during his life, and of the feeding and keeping of 12 Milch Kine or other beasts and one nag in the same park, and of 6 loads of firewood yearly to be taken out of the same park », « subscribed by the Earl of Nottingham ». This man seems to have been associated with the Ilford family, but whether he was the same as the testator I know not.

A Thomas, son of Thomas Hones was baptized in St. Clements Danes, March, 1564. The Privy Council wrote a letter from Nonesuch 27th July 1589, to Francis Cotton Esq. John Manners, gentleman, Thomas Thorney, Thomas Honies etc., about the Cargo in the Prizes taken.

Among the Lay Subsidies, 129 (703.) Kent, 14 Charles II Hearth Money, Hundred of Blackborne, Village of Kenardington, Great Borrowe we find.

« John Honis, one shilling ».

« Thomas Honis, five shillings ».

Among « the declared accounts » (2) we find frequent mention

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(1) Somerset House Wills (15 Swan).

(2) Declared Accounts of the treasurer of the Chamber. Pipe Office 542.

of a resembling name. « Nicholas de Honnez upon a Warrant signed by Mr. Sec. Walsingham », received payment for bringing letters 16th March 1584. « Nicholas de Hunnez for bringing letters from Sir Edward Stafford ambassador at Paris to Greenwich. 7th July 1585 ». « Nicholas Honneaz » brings letters from Paris 25th March 1586, and « Nicholas de Honnans » brings letters from the same place 9th July 1586, and so in other references. In Harl. MS. 1641-4 the name is spelt Nicholas Honneaz. This has a foreign aspect, and may have been borne by one of the continental family that seems to have chosen similar lines of life to the English one. There is nothing to guide us. It is only of Robin Hunnis that I have anything worth preserving (See Chapter XIII).

It does not state in the patent of Hunnis who were the honest and discreet personages who stood sponsor for him to save the Heralds harmless. We must not forget that his old master the Earl of Pembroke was still alive and in honour. He was made Lord Steward of the Royal Household in the same year, 1568. He may have encouraged the honest and discreet personages to come forward. One of them may have been Thomas Newton, the friend of the later years of Hunnis.

The Earl of Pembroke got into trouble (1) however in the following year, along with the Marshal of England, the very Duke of Norfolk who granted Hunnis his patent for the coat of arms. The Earl of Pembroke honestly thought that it was a wise step to marry Queen Mary Stuart to the Duke of Norfolk. For his opinion he was confined to his own house for a time in September 1569 ; but he defended himself against the charge of treason with dignity and success. The Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland in the Catholic rising of the North, used his name as « a name to conjure by ». But he proved his innocence. He could say truly now, he « would not staine his former Lief with a spott of disloyalty ». We know the fate of the other three, attainder, the block, the Tower, or exile ; but Pembroke's good fortune had not deserted him yet. Probably however, the strain of the anxiety told on him severely, and

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(1) The Pope's ill-omened Bull of Excommunication against Elizabeth fomented trouble among the Catholics and caused increased severity.

he died on March, 17th, 1569-70. His funeral took place at St. Pauls on the 18th April, 1570, a magnificent function.

« The Esquires to carry the four banneroles about the bodye, with their hoodes on their heads were Mr. Henneage, Mr. Cary, Mr. Dyer, Mr. Hatton, Esquires », all rising men of note. His son Henry succeeded, who had been married to, and divorced from, Lady Catherine Grey (1) (sister of the ill fated Lady Jane) ; he was married again to a shortlived daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury ; and afterwards to Mary, daughter of Sir Henry, sister of Sir Philip Sidney. She became mother of William, the third Earl of Pembroke of this creation.

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(1) She died on 27th Jan. 1567 in the Tower, for the crime of marrying where her affections were placed, the Earl of Hertford, son of the late Protector, the Duke of Somerset. But as by Henry's will she was Heir Presumptive to the throne, it was considered treason to marry without the permission of Elizabeth. Harl. MS. 39. (380) gives a touching account of her death and of her children's fate.

CHAPTER XII.

TOLL-TAKER ON LONDON BRIDGE. 1570.

One cannot but be impressed by the remarkable way in which Elizabeth paid her debts, and the extraordinary positions into which her servants were sometimes thrust. Nothing short of absolute proof that the name stood for the same person could have made us believe that the Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal, was appointed by the Queen to take the City-dues of wheelage and passage on London Bridge. But the fact can be proved.

At that time the Bridge was lined with buildings, shops and dwellings, the finest of which was Nonesuch House (1). There was a Chapel on the Bridge, and Cages and Stocks were in evidence on one of the Archways. The Traitor's Gate stood at the Southern entrance. The second Southwark gate with Tower was only rebuilt in 1577. All the traffic of the city passed over that Bridge. Therefore the City had practically secured a municipal monopoly of its privileges, and besides the dues for entry of produce, exacted dues for wheelage and passage in much the same manner as the country did until later times, at every toll-house gate.

There were two Bridgemasters, important officers with heavy responsibilities as to the buildings, the watching of the river-currents etc. The office of the taker of tolls and dues was subordinate to theirs. The cause of the Queen's action is not quite clear. Probably Hunnis had complained even then, that he found it hard, to keep all these growing boys on forty pounds a year, and yet serve her like a gentleman, who *bore arms* (2).

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(1) A. Wood's *Ecclesiastical Antiquities. Chronicles of London Bridge* by an Antiquary.
Bohn's *Privilegia Londini.* Walford's *Old and New London.*
(2) See page 155.

It is quite possible that the idea might have entered her mind from knowing that he had control over a house and shop on the south end of London Bridge, which we know he had, from the Churchwarden's accounts and Vestry Books of St. Olave's, Southwark. Certain it is that in her shifty way, she wanted to give him some benefit without any expense to herself, and hit upon the humourously illegal action of granting him an office in the control of the Corporation, an office which, further, was already occupied.

It is quite possible there was a little gall in the appointment. The City Fathers were notably incensed at the time against Stage-plays ; some one even had the audacity to write bitterly against them the year before, saying they would never be suppressed, while the Children of the Chapel were allowed to play before the Queen. Yet here was the very Master of these said children nominated to a municipal office, made one of themselves, as it were. And they could not refuse him on the ground that he was not a citizen, for he was a full-pledged citizen, on the Livery of the powerful Grocer's Company. The municipal authorities pointed out their will to oblige the Queen, but their incapability of removing the present holders of the office, who had been appointed in 1558 for a term of 21 years, if they or one of them should live so long. They must have felt some annoyance at this breach of their privilege, but prudently refraining from offending the Queen, they made no objection to her, and offered Hunnis a lump sum down in order to secure the reversion to themselves. He must have felt it an ungracious necessity to wait for dead men's shoes when his own were in such urgent need of repair ; and he at once accepted the offer. He received £40, a sum equal to a year's income as Master of the Children, with no demands of time, toil or sustenance upon it. He expressed himself as content with the arrangement, and very grateful for the amount. The record of the transaction is preserved at Guildhall : « 30th May 1570. William Hunnys (1) Item. This daye the reversion and next avoidance of the Office of Collection of the Cities' rightes, duties, and profits cominge and growinge from tyme to tyme at and uppon London Bridge,

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(1) Guildhall Records V. f. 292, 294.

for wheelage and passage over the same Bridge, which office Thomas Makerley or Malecht, Cutler, and Hellin his wife, nowe have, is by virtue of a graunte of this Court to them made and graunted on the 6th day of November in the yeare of the reign of Philip and Mary, formerly King and Queen of England, 5th and 6th (i. e. 1558) for terme of one and twenty yeares next ensuing after the feast of St. Michael the Archangel then last paste, yf thei or one of them doe or shall so longe lyve, was, at the contemplation of the Queen's Majesties letters, directed unto this court, in the favour of William Hunnys, citizen and grocer, of this citie, and also Master of her Grace's Children of the Chapell Royall, freely given and graunted to the same Mr. Hunnys for terme of his naturall lyfe, to have and enioye the same, when, and as soon as the said reversion shall fall after the death of the said Thomas Makerley or Malecht, and Hellin his wife, and the longer liver of them. He, the said Hunnys, yealding and paying therefore yearlie during his saide terme and intereste to, of, and in the said Office, to the Bridge Masters of the said Bridge for the time beinge, towards the reparation and maintenance of the same bridge, so much money, within 10 poundes as any other person or personnes will, than without or fraude or guile given for the same, provided always that yf the said Makerly (Malecht) and Hellin his wife or either of them, shall fortune to survive and outlive the end of their saide terme of yeares of and in the saide Office, that then the said Hunneyes shall quietly permit and suffer them and either of them, to holde and enjoye the said Office during their naturall lives and that of the longer liver of them, as fullye to all intentes and purposes as though this present graunte thereof to him had never been had or made, anie thinge therein contayned to the contrary notwithstanding » (30th May 12. Eliz.).

It is quite probable that Elizabeth wrote again to her loyal citizens on the subject, for in a fortnight the business was reopened.

« Item at this court (1) it was ordered that the Bridgemaster shall paie unto Mr. Hunneyes, Master of the Children of the

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(1) Guildhall Records V. fo. 294 b. 13th June 1570.

Queen's Majesties Chappell Royall the summe of £40 in gratification of the Queen's Majesties Highness' letters to this courte in the favour of the said William Hunneys for a lease in reversion of the wheeling and passage of London Bridge by her Majestyes gifte, the said Hunneys this day yelded and gave unto this courte his moste hartie thankes » (13th June 12 Eliz.).

William Hunnis appears no more in the Records of the Corporation (1).

It seems to me probable that he invested this money in the purchase of a house at Ilford, at which place he lived during some of his later years, near his friend Thomas Newton ; and where he apparently received some other dubious gift from the Queen, as we find that William Nutbrown, an old resident there, complained of his interference with a patent previously granted to himself.

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(1) I am truly grateful to the Corporation for permission to search the Guildhall records for the names of those in whom I was interested. I was not content with looking at special letters in the Index, but read it through, and thus found these notices above recorded under « Bridges ». These gave me the first information that Hunnys was a grocer of the City of London, and the clue to the Grocer's books which led me to the discovery of his second marriage.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE EARL OF ESSEX, AND HIS PAGE ROBIN HUNNIS. 1576.

It is possible that William Hunnis may have had a child by his first wife Margaret Brigham ; and several children by his second, the widow Blanck or Blagge.

The entry of the Magdalen Chorister (1) is tantalizing, as it does not give the Christian name. It only assures us that some lad « Hunnis » was chorister from 1567 to 1569. If a child of the first wife of the Master of the Children, he would be between 8 and 10 years of age. The date would suggest that a child by the second marriage would be too young, so we may believe that the entry might refer to a member of the Berkshire family, whence Marchadine Hunnis was sent in later years to the same college. We know that Hunnis had one son Robert, or Robin, and that he was page to the Earl of Essex. If of the first marriage he could not have been less than 17 ; if of the second, not more than 15, and probably less, at the time of the death of the Earl of Essex.

As in the case of his father the whole interest of Robert's early years lies in the story of his patron's life. This reads very differently, according to the feelings that the reader holds to his rival, the Earl of Leicester.

Taken in its baldest facts, Walter Devereux as Viscount Hereford, had helped to quell the rebellion of the north, and had been rewarded by the earldom of Essex. He afterwards volunteered to go to Ireland, and make things quiet there, but did not succeed very well, being constantly hampered by contradictory orders from the Court. When he returned, he resolved to lead a life of peace at home ; but the Queen flattered him, and sent him back to Ireland as Earl Marshal, with larger promises, and fuller powers. Three weeks after his landing he

(1) See page 162. Also Bloxam's College Registers 1st vol. p. 18.

died in Dublin of a dysentry, after patient endurance of much suffering.

But these outlines do not complete the picture. The story of the worthy nobleman's practical banishment, of his wife's lax notions of duty, of Leicester's suspicious attentions to her, are preserved in the annals of the day. But it is in the scurrilous book, entitled « Leicester's Commonwealth », that we first see the Earl of Essex's death, openly treated as a premeditated *murder* by the Earl of Leicester, and that we first find little Robin Hunnis associated with both noblemen. This was popularly supposed to have been written by the Roman Catholic Priest Parsons, and was called « Father Parson's Greenbacks », from the colour of its binding. He always denied having written it, and I must say that I hardly think it possible he could have done so, from the way Protestants are spoken of. The book (1) is called « The Copie of a letter wrytten by a Master of Artes of Cambridge to his friend in London, concerning some talke past of late between two worshipful and grave men, about the present state, and some proceedings of the Earle of Leycester and his friends in England. Conceyved, spoken, and published wyth most earnest protestation of all duetyfull good wyl and affection towards her most excellent Majestie, and the Realme, for whose good onely it is made common to many, 1584 ». It was probably printed at Antwerp. At page 75, it states that Mr. Stowe had noted in his Chronicle that in the time of his imprisonment in the Tower, he had written a notable book called « The tree of Commonwealth » which he had given to the Earl of Leicester, but it had never yet been published. This apparently suggested the shortened title of « Leicester's Commonwealth » for this publication which so inveighed against the favourite, as to call forth a private letter from the Queen to various provincial officials, to repress « this lying book ». It taunts Leicester with his pedigree, « being noble only in two descents, both of them stained by the block, from which he was barely pardoned himself ». It blames him for having

(1) There are many varying manuscripts ; the Harleian MS. copy 6403, entitles it « A conference between a gentleman, a fellow of the Universitie, and a Lawyer etc. ».

hindered all the Queen's marriages by stating that she was privately contracted to himself which he proved to have been a lie by his marriage with his minion Dame Lettice of Essex ». It charges him with having a habit of removing all people that stood in his way. He fell in love with my Lady Sheffield, and shortly after her husband died. « The like good chance had he in the death (1) of my Lord of Essex who was coming home from Ireland to revenge himself upon my Lord of Leycester for his adultery with his wife, who wanted not a friend or two of his to accompany the deputy, as, among others, a couple of the Earl's own servants, Crompton, if I misse not the name, the yeoman of his bottells, and Lloid his Secretary, entertained after by my Lord of Leicester, whose case indeed moved me more than all the rest, for that he was a very noble gentleman, a great advancer of true religion, a patron to many preachers and students, and towards me in particular he had in some things been very beneficial, and therefore I said that it grieved me extremely to heare or think of so unworthie a death contrived by such meanes to so worthie a peere. And so much the more that it was my chance to come to the understanding of divers particulars concerning that thing, both from one Lea an Irishman, *Robyn Honnies*, and other that were present at Penteneies the Marchant's house, dwelling upon the kay where the murder was committed ». « The matter was wrought especially by Crompton, yeoman of the Bottells by the procurement of Lloyd as you have noted before, and ther was poysoned at the same tyme with the same cuppe (as given of curtesie by the Earle) one Mistress Alice Draykot, a goodly gentlewoman, whom the Earle affectioned much, who departing thence towards her own house began to fall grievously sick on the way whereof the good Earl hearing the day following, lamented the case greatly, and said in the presence of his servants, « Ah poor Ales, the cuppe was not prepared for thee, albeit it were thy hard destiny to taste thereof ». Young Honies also whose father is Master of the Children of her Majesties Chappell,

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(1) The writer says that Leicester had studied all the Italian arts of poisoning, and that when Dr. Bayley gave a public lecture in Oxford about the effect of poison, Leicester engaged him as his private adviser.

being at that time page to the said Earl, and accustomed to take the taste of his drinke (though synce entertayned also among other by my Lord of Leycester, for better covering of the matter) by his taste thereof that he then tooke of the compound cuppe (though in verie small quantitie as you know the fashion is) yet was he like to have lost his lyfe, but escaped in the end (being yong) wyth the losse only of his heare ; which the Earle perceyving, and taking compassion of the youth, called for a cuppe of drinke, a lytle before his death, and dronk to Honnies, saying « I drynk to thee, my Robin, and be not afeard, for this is a better cuppe of drynk than that whereof thou tokest the taste, when we were both poysoned, and whereby thou hast lost thy heare, and I must losse my life » (At the margin is entered « The Earle of Essex speech to his page Robyn Honnies »). This yong Honnies reported openly in divers places, and before divers gentlemen of worship sythence his coming into England, and the aforesaid Lea, at his passage this waye towards France with some others of the Earles servants have and do most constantlie reporte the same where they maye doe it without the terror of my Lord of Leycester's revenge ».

The writer then goes through what he calls the list of Leicester's murders and attempts at murder. Every one privie to his secrets, was made away with. « One Gates *lately* hanged at Tyborn, formerly Clerk of Leicester's Kitchen, made many efforts to find a pardon, but he found that Leicester frustrated them all, being determined that he should die, thereupon he would have publicly revealed his Lord's treacheries, but that he feared torment. Therefore he disclosed the same only to a gentleman of worshippe, whom he trusted speciallie whose name I may not utter for some causes, (but it beginneth with an H), and I am in hope, ere it be long, by means of a friend of mine to have a sight of that discourse and reporte of Gates, which hytherto I have not sene nor ever spake I with the gentleman that keepeth it, though I be wel assured the whole matter passed in substance as I have here recounted it ».

The writer further blames Leicester for the death of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton ; for treacheries to the Earl of Sussex ; for an attempt on M. Simiers, the French ambassador. He adds

that he « found records » whenever it suited his purpose to increase his parks. « For his posteritie he has little cause to be solicitous, for that God himself taketh care that goods and honours so gotten and maintained as his be, shall never trouble the third heire (1) ».

« See the case of Mr. Robinson of Stafford done to death to secure his land.... with my Lord Berkley, whom he forced to yield up his lands to his brother Warwicke.... upon Sir John Throgmorton whom he brought pitifully to his grave before his time, by continual vexation.... upon some of the Giffords for Throgmorton's sake ; upon divers of the Lanes for one man's sake of that name, that offered to take Killingworth Castle ».

« What say you to the device he had, of late to intrap his well-deserving friend Sir Christopher Hatton, in the matter of Hall his priest, whom he would have had Sir Christopher to send away and hide, being touched and detected in the case of Arden, thereby to have drawn in Sir Christopher himself? ».

The terrible charges against Leicester were accepted by many of his contemporaries. Sir Robert Naunton says of him (2) that « he is supposed to have died of poison that he had prepared for others, at which they report him a rare artist. He was too well seen in the aphorisms and principles of Nicholas the Florentine, and in the reaches of Caesar Borgia ». But Naunton says he « spares his memory for the sake of others still living ».

We must not forget the indignant repudiation of the charges by the Queen ; the laboured defence of Sir Philip Sidney (3) and the examination by Sir Henry Sidney (4) of those witnesses he could find in Ireland, when he went over some time after the death of Essex, and made a perfunctory inquiry into the charge of poison. He says that the Earl of Essex had been travelling hastily about, and had been eating three good meals

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(1) A prophecy that came sadly true in the same year, 1584, for Leicester's only acknowledged son « the noble imp » died before him, also supposed to be by mistaken poison. Earl of Shrewsbury wrote to say he was sorry for his loss, 26th July 1584.

(2) *Fragmenta Regalia or Observations on the Late Queen Elizabeth.*

(3) It was never printed at the time, but has been included in Collins' *Letters and Memorials of State*, vol. 1, p. 44-76.

(4) Sidney to Walsingham. *Ibid.*

a day, without suffering from Inflammation or alteration of taste ; that when he fell ill, he had good physicians and was carefully attended to ; that the Archbishop of Dublin asked him if he thought he was poisoned and he said no ; that when he was opened there was no trace of poison. « The Physicians said that he might have been poisoned but they had given him no medicine for that, but powder of unicorn's horns (1) ». He had had two gentlewomen to supper the night that the disease took him, and he said he feared that they and he had tasted of one Drugge, and his page was gone with his Boddye over before I returned ».

Sidney praises him much « I never harde of a man to dye in soche Perfectness ; after he yeelded to dye, he desired moch to have his frendes come to him he would use so godly exhortacions and grave admonicions as in all his life, he never seemed to be halfe so wise, learned, or eloquent, nor of so good a memorie as at his death ». This happened before noon 22nd September 1576 ; and his page took over his body to be buried at Carmarthen (2).

There Richard Davies, Bishop of St. Davids, preached a eulogistic funeral sermon over him in the Parish Church. This has been printed (3). The Bishop said the Earl had been « temperate and studious in his youth, learned in the word of God, yet a son of Mars.... He was the comfortable refuge of all such as were in adversitie or oppressed by power.... before he died, he shewed himself more like an angel from heaven than a man »... « The Archbishop of Dublin said that his speeches would serve him for sermons as long as he lived.... He was the Pearl of Nobilitie, the Myrror of Vertue, the Child of Chivalrie, the beautifull flower of Englande, the precious jewell and comfort of Wales, the trustie stay of Ireland ». His fate caused widespread sorrow, and it must have perplexed many (4).

Another notice of a calmer nature, seems to have been given

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(1) This is the name given to the tusks of the ancient Mammoths, existing in Europe in Palaeolithic times.

(2) Everything brought forward might fit into either theory, as to the guilt or innocence of Leicester.

(3) It was licensed to Henry Denham 26th April 1577.

(4) See *Notes and Queries*, 4th Series III. 361.

by the Rev. T. Knell, Chaplain to the Earl of Essex in Ireland who said : « The Earl was persuaded he had had poison given him, and said so frequently. Those who drank wine with him all suffered and *Hunnings* his Lordship's taster was vexed indeed, and began to be sicke, when my Lordship first complained, and trew it was that he dranke the residue of my Lordship's cup. Yet the suspicion of Crompton, the yeoman of his cellar was far from his mind. He thought some other of Ireland had done it. He grew worse and worse till he would try no medicines, he had such a strong imagination of poison, and the examination after death confirmed it » (1).

One of the Harleian manuscripts (2) describes « the death of Walter the Earl of Essex and Ewe, beginning *Friday the laste day of August* from supposed dysentery or whether it were of anie other accident the lyving God both knoweth and will revenge it ». The account is very touching of his suffering and patience for 22 days, of his preparation for death, of his godly conversation and his will concerning his poor children, « whom he left in Christ's care. He sent a kind message to Sir Philip Sidney and said he wished he could marry his daughter ». He spoke sadly of the state of public affairs, saying there was no religion in England, but everything leaned to policy. « William Hewes his musitian played on the virginals and then he himself sang to them a hymn of his own making ». This is believed to be « the complaint of a Sinner » which appeared in the *Paradise of Dainty Devices* signed « F. K. » or Francis Kinwelmarsh, one of his gentlemen, 1576. It seems rather soon to have appeared in print the very year the Earl died (3).

One cannot attempt to sit judicially here on the character of the Earl of Leicester. It must not be forgotten that the heaviest charges came from the oppressed Catholics. The wide-spread suspicions of his crimes were not universally accepted. Some friends believed in him. Still, even the greater historians, such as Camden (4), say he was « skilful to serve the time, and his

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(1) Addit. MS. British Museum 32092. 3.

(2) Harl. MS. 293 (72).

(3) It is printed as the work of Essex in *Farr's Select poetry of the reign of Elizabeth*, and Dr. Grosart's *Fuller Worthy Miscellany*.

(4) Annals of Elizabeth.

own commodity » and « He was accounted in the number of commendable men, but his secret practises were ill spoken of by the most sort ».

In regard to the Book entitled « Leicester's Commonwealth » we may take it for certain that Robin Hunnis was really the page who served the Earl of Essex, at the time of his death ; and that *possibly* his father was the gentleman of worship whose name began with an H, to whom Gates is supposed to have made a confession of the Earl's foul play, shortly before 1584. I take this as possible from the association, and also from the subsequent troubles of William Hunnis.

That young Hunnis, the page of the late Earl of Essex was really « entertained » by the Earl of Leicester I have been able to prove by the accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber (1). The Earl was then Master of the Horse, and he kept four boys to be trained in the services under his chief riders. The names of these are given in 1579 and the following years, « Also allowed for money paide unto the righte honourable the Earle of Leicester, Master of her Majesties Horse by vertue of her Highness' Warrant dormant given at Windsor 24th October anno duodecimo Regine pred. for thallowance of 4 boies brought under the four riders, viz, Robert Zinzan, John Digbie, Robert Hunnis, and Peter Winne, viz, for everie boie at 6d per diem for his Boorde wages. And for the necessaries of everie of them with their Liverie Coate at £6. 17. 6. per annum a piece, amounting to the some of £63. 2. At the side runs « Foure boyes broughte up under the 4 riders of the Stable ». Robert Hunnis remained in this capacity at least until 1583. Perhaps he had by that time grown up beyond being a boy, perhaps he left the service of the Earl of Leicester.

After that however he was entrusted occasionally with the carrying of letters of state, a duty or office of dignity then, to which even many nobleman's younger sons aspired.

An interesting original book (2) of the Treasurer of the Chamber containing many signatures in the form of receipts for

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(1) Account of the Treasurer of the Chamber 21-22 Eliz., 25-26, also 27-28 and 28-29 ; but in 29-30 no names are noted.

(2) Harl. MS. 1641. 4.

payments for 1585-6 is preserved in the British Museum. The foure boys under the Earl of Essex are now named « Robert Zin Zan, Abraham Wynn, Andrew Zin Zan, Richard Storye ». But Robert Hunnis, though not entered as a boy, receives payment for carrying letters from the Earl of Leicester to France. He signs the receipt for £4 ; and it is interesting to note that his handwriting is of the same character as that of his father, large and angular *Robert Hunnis*. There are not frequent entries of his name afterwards. But on 20th July 1591 Robert Hunneys received upon a warrant signed by the Lord Treasurer for bringing of letters in poste for her Maiesties service from her Highness' Shippes (1) at the Isle of Garnsey £16. 13. 4.

And Lady Southampton, in paying up the arrears run by her late husband Sir Thomas Henneage, paid « to Robert Hunnys upon a warrante signed by the Lorde Treasurer, dated at the Court at Croydon 11th May 1593, for bringing of letters in poste for her Maiesties affaires out of Gascoigne from the City of Burdeaux, from Chatter Martin to the Court of England, being at Croydon 100/ (2) ».

It is therefore evident that the Earl of Leicester had not made away with the page of the Earl of Essex, even if he had been foolish enough to repeat the gossip attributed to him. It would seem from these later entries, that he had drifted into the service of the son of his old master, Robert, Earl of Essex, stepson of Leicester, and his successor in the good graces of Elizabeth for the time.

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(1) Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber 32-33 Eliza.

(2) Audit Office. Declared Accounts. 386 (31). Sir Thomas Henneage died 1595. See my article « The Earliest official Record of Shakespeare's name ». *Deutsche Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, 1895, also reprinted in pamphlet form.

CHAPTER XIV.

« THE PARADYSE OF DAYNTY DEUISES », 1576.

William Hunnis is chiefly known to-day, as a contributor to the *Paradyse of daynty Deuises*, the most popular poetical miscellany of the sixteenth century. Its illustrative poems represent the best known writers of the reigns of Edward VI (1), and Mary, as well as those of the early years of Elizabeth. Ten years at least must be deducted from the printed date to start with, as Richard Edwards, the collector and chief contributor, died in 1566. It is quite probable that he had taken some time to make the collection. Possibly he commenced it for his own delectation, or as a selection suitable to set, at his leisure, to music in five parts. Possibly he also wished to counteract the evil songs still prevalent among the people, drawn from the old *Court of Venus*, and similar miscellanies. Curiously enough in relation to Chapter I of this volume, Sir Egerton Bridges pointed out that « the collection illustrates the same spirit as was seen in the work of the metrical Psalmwriters (2) ». This editor of the reprints of 1576 and 1580 also noted, that it nowhere displays the grandeur of Sackville's « Induction to the Mirror for Magistrates ».

Contemporary literary scorn was occasionally darted at the popular volume. W. C(ovell) in his « Polimanteia » 1595, remarks « Then should not the Paradise of Daintie Devises be a packet of bald rimes », and Abraham Fraunce, in the « Countess of Pembroke's Ivy Church », Act. II sc. 3, says :

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(1) Thomas, second Lord Vaux, one of the chief authors, died in 1557-8 ; and some other writers as early are represented in the collection.

(2) Notes to his Reprint of the 1576 Edition.

« Two faire eyes teach me my lesson
And what I read in those, I doe write in a barck of a beech tree
Beech-tree, better book than a thousand Daintie Devises (1) ».

But in spite of such critics, the book lived. The number of its editions bears witness to its popularity. Their discrepancies shew how lightly a publisher of those days held the responsibility of affixing the true names of the authors, or the correct titles of the poems. More than one author's verses appear under the same or similar titles, probably selected by the publisher, and sometimes the same author has different poems ascribed to him under the same title, so that it is wise always to note the first lines as well as the titles, to avoid confusion. It is unfortunate that we cannot now place the whole of the editions side by side for comparison. But Sir Egerton Brydges, Malone, and Collier have done a good deal towards helping us to generalize.

The first edition of the *Paradyse of Daynty Deuises* was printed by Henry Disle 1576, dwelling in Paule's Churchyard, in the very year in which he took up his freedom. A copy of this is preserved in the Christy-Miller Library at Britwell, and is reprinted by Bridges (2). The second edition of 1577 is entered by Ames as if it had been the first edition, « Henry Diszell or Disley published the Paradise of Dainty Devises in 1577 ». Ames thinks that the fine imposed on Disle on June 20th 1577, for unlawfully printing a book without a license, was for this publication, as he could find no entry of it in the Register. The third edition appeared in 1578, and an imperfect copy of this is preserved in the Bodleian. This is the copy that is reprinted by Collier in his *Seven early English Miscellanies*, with its imperfections filled in from the 1576 edition. Of the fourth known edition, that of 1580, one copy is also preserved in the

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(1) Sir Egerton Brydges also supposes that Nash intended to satirise the collection, when he says in his Anatomie of Absurdity « Are they not ashamed in their prefixed poesies to adorne a picture of *profit* mixed with *pleasure*, when as in their books there is scarce to be found one precept pertaining to virtue, but whole quires fraight with amorous discourses ». The title page of the Paradyse contains the *words* italicised, but I do not think that Nash can possibly refer to it here.

(2) Sir Egerton Bridges compares the 1576, 1580, and 1600 editions and notes the changes in each of the later issues.

Bodleian Library. On July 26th 1582, the Stationer's Registers note « Timothy Rider. Granted unto him a copy which pertained to Henry Disley deceased, intituled *A Paradyse of Daintie Deuises* », and soon afterwards the copy passed over to Edward White : « 11th April 1584, Received of Edward White for 2 copies, thone *The Widowes Treasour* and thother *The Paradice of Dayntie Devices* putt over unto him from Timothy Rider XII^{d} ».

Edward White brought out the editions of 1585, 1595, 1596 and 1600, and one undated edition, and there is some reason to believe that a few surreptitious editions were thrown on the market.

The 1596 is the sole edition in the British Museum, which may however be compared with the reprints of Sir Egerton Brydges, 1810, and of Collier, 1867. There are four known copies of this edition existing in this country, and one in the possession of Mr White of New York, which formerly belonged to Mr Brand. The correct spelling of the title is elusive, as it varies in every edition, and sometimes on different pages of the same edition.

The title page of the first edition entitles it « The Paradyse of Daynty Deuises aptly furnished with sundry pithie and learned inventions deuised and written for the most part by M. Edwards, sometime of her Maiesties Chappell, the rest by sundry learned gentlemen both of honor and worship, viz.

S. Barnard	Jasper Heywood
E. O.	F. K.
L. Vaux	M. Bew
D. S.	R. Hill

M. Yloop with others.

Imprinted at London by Henry Disle, dwelling in Paule's Churchyard, at the South West Doore of St. Paule's Church and are there to be sold. 1576. » Quarto.

The Device is in an oval, an Angel crowned, holding in the right hand a flaming heart of Charity, in the left a cross ; standing on a figure described by the word « Diabolus », with various inscriptions, and enigmatical allusions, supposed to represent the victory of Virtue and Light. Motto « Ego sum via et veritas ».

Of the authors it is believed that E. O. stands for the Earl

of Oxford ; F. K. for Francis Kinwelmarsh; D. S. is supposed to be Dr. Edwin Sandys, though he is not known otherwise to have written poetry. Yloop is taken to be an inversion of Pooley. Collier speaks of M. Bewe as a writer « of whom nothing has been recorded ». It has struck me that it may possibly be an inversion of « Webbe », the author of *The Art of English Poetry*, who had evidently dabbled in the practice himself. « M. » might only represent « Mr. ». This has never been suggested before, and I mention it only as a possibility. The first edition, as well as successive ones, was dedicated by the printer Disle « to Syr Henry Compton Knight » ; « being penned by divers learned gentlemen, and collected together through the travell of one, both of woorship and credite, for his private use, who not long since departed this lyfe, which when I had perused over.... I determined to set them in print.... The wryters of them, were both of honor and worship, besides that, our owne countrymen, and such as for theyr learnyng and grauitie, might be accounted of, among the wisest. Furthermore the ditties both pithie and pleasant, as well for the invention as meter, and wyll yeelde a farre greater delight being as they are so aptly made to be set to any song in 5 partes, or song to instrument.... for their aucthours sake, who, though some of them are departed this lyfe, yet theyr woorthy doings shall continue for ever ; for like as the shadow foloweth the body so praise foloweth vertue, and as the shadow goeth sometimes before, and sometimes behind, so doth praise also to vertue, but the later it commeth the greater it is, and to be the better esteemed » etc.

Richard Edwards has already been noticed among the Masters of the Children of the Chapel. His poems take the highest place in the collection. A part of his song in Commendation of music is quoted by Shakespeare in Romeo and Juliet, IV. 3. His poem « Amantium irae amoris redintigratio est » is supposed to have been set to music by himself (1).

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(1) I found an interesting Black-letter Broadside among the Roxburgh Ballads, with the same Latin title, and the English translation, « The falling out of Lovers is the renewing of Love to the Tune of The Meddow Brow ». The Maides reply begins « Though falling out of faithful friends renewing be of love », but does not resemble that of Edwards. It is printed for H. Gosson, and has woodcuts.

Though by some strange oversight he is not mentioned on the Title-page, William Hunnis appears within the volume among the other « writers of worship and honour ».

Sir Egerton Brydges and Dr. Drake place Lord Vaux (1) second in merit and William Hunnis third. Mr. Hallam is almost disposed to grant the second place to Hunnis. The decision depends, as I will shew, very much upon the edition through which the reader may have become acquainted with the collection. Collier says lightly, « Others by such versifiers as Hunnis, Rich, Lloyd, Thorn, Candish, Bourcher and Marshall, regarding whom few particulars or none have reached our time ».

The name that heads the list of authors is used in an unusual manner. The first poem, which serves as the Introduction, is a « Translation of the Blessed St Barnardes verses containing the Unstable Felicitie of this Wavering World ». This is naturally signed by the translator and versifier, author of several other poems, who uses a particular Nom de Plume, « My luck is losse ». This does not seem to be an anagram. He writes also the first original poem, « Beware of Had I wist ». This phrase seems to have been used in a peculiar signification at the time; as has been noted in my articles on the « Newe Courte of Venus » (2). Nash (3) also writes to Cotton « In towne I stayed upon had-I-wist hopes (4) ». There are two explanations of this signature. Mr. Hazlitt points out that George Gascoigne's poems do not appear in the collection, (if we except the verses signed G. G. in the 1580 edition (5) « A description of the World » No. 96). This is extraordinary, when we consider the high praise awarded to him by Webbe and other literary critics of the time. Mr. Hazlitt claims for him the authorship of this and the other poems with this signature not only on internal resemblances, and the suggestions of the misfortunes

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(1) The second Lord Vaux. In after editions called Lord Vaux the elder; to distinguish him from the Lord Vaux who suffered so much for recusancy.

(2) *Athenæum* 24th June 1899, and 1st July 1899.

(3) See Collier's *Seven Poetical Miscellanies*. I. p. 292.

(4) Also in Harl. MS. 424 there are verses warning Mary :

« Will yet take hede of Had-y-wist,
Let God's word beare the bell ».

(5) G. Gask in the edition 1596.

of his life, but on the associated idea in the verses in « Gascoigne's Life and Adventures of Mr. F. T. ».

« Let suche fish there as find the gaine
And leave the losse for me....
And with such Luck and Losse
I will content myselfe ».

If Mr. Hazlitt is right, and I am inclined to think he is, then the man whom Churchmen abused, and against whom the electors of the borough of Midhurst petitioned, as being guilty of too many vices, chiefly of Atheism, to be permitted to sit in Parliament, this man has been practically canonized by Henry Disle, and has come down to posterity in front of his contemporaries as « Saint Barnard ». Gascoigne died October 7th, 1577, and on November 25th, George Whetstone was allowed to print an account of his « godly life and death » (1).

Sir Egerton Brydges and Haslewood, however, think that « My luck is losse », might mean Barnaby Rich, who was unnoticed by contemporary and unknown to later writers, and who « was never able to climb the Muse's Hill ». In an epitaph on Sir William Drury, who died at Waterford 1579, Rich says

« But Ireland thou, thou thrice accursed soile,
Thy luck is losse, thy fortune still withstood ».

In my opinion this is more like a quotation than the other phrase of Gascoigne's.

One poem which had appeared in Tottell's *Miscellany* 1557, among the « Poems by uncertain authors » entitled « The Comparison of Life and Death », commencing « The Lyfe is long that lothsomely doth last », appears in the first edition of the *Paradyse of Daynty Deuises*, where it is entitled « Thinke to dye » and attributed to D. S. « The fond affectes of Love » in 1576 is anonymous ; in 1578 it is attributed to Thomas Churchyard, and two stanzas are added. « I would I were Actaeon », in 1576 attributed to M. S., is omitted in the 1578 edition. But it appears, slightly varied, in the new Miscellany

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(1) Stat. Reg. « 25th November A remembrance of the well-employed lief, and godlie end of George Gascoigne, who died 7th Oct. 1577. (to Edward Aggas) by George Whetstone gentleman, 4d and a copy ».

of that year *The Gorgious Gallery of gallant Inventions* edited by Thomas Proctor, and printed for Richard Jones 1578. « Being troubled in Mind », commencing « The Bitter Sweate that strains my yelded harte » in 1576, is attributed to I. H. ; and in 1578 has no signature, and the new title, « The Paynefull Plight of a Lover remaining in doubtful hope of his Lady's favour », and « Bitter Sweate » is spelt « Bitter Sweete ». The poem « When sage Ulysses sailed by » ascribed to M. Bew in the first edition, and that of 1578, does not appear in 1580.

It is most probable that the authors alive at the period of publication would see themselves righted with the printer and the public, and therefore the later editions should be treated as more likely to be correct. The greatest number of variations occur in the poems attributed to William Hunnis.

After St. Barnard and « Beware of had I wist » by « My Luck is Losse » appears in the first edition « The perfect tryall of a faithful friend by Yloop ».

Next comes the poem « No Pleasure without some Payne » commencing « Sweet were the joys that both might like and last ». This is entered to E. S. a name not mentioned on the title-page, unless D. S. represents the same, as some suppose, for Dr. Edwin Sandys. Sir Egerton Brydges says this might have meant the old Earl of Surrey, or even Edmund Spenser, who was twenty-three years old at the time of the publication. But it seems to me we must consider the first edition as really « collected by Edwards » and that would make a poem by Spenser impossible. It would also put out of court the claimant favoured by Collier. In the third edition of 1578 this is ascribed to W. R. This Collier reads as Walter Raleigh, and treats it as « one of his earliest poems, (if we except his lines before Gascoigne's *Steele Glas*) but highly characteristic of the philosophical spirit and tone of Raleigh's mind » ; and « after being deprived of this excellent poem in the first two editions, in the third, Disle had ascertained the real author and properly ascribed it to Walter Raleigh ». I do not think so. I hold that the « R » is only a printer's error, for the current of the period, and that « W. H » was intended, as it should have been. All later editions give the name in full, as William Hunnis. In the Aldine edition of « Sir Walter Raleigh and other Courtly

Poets », by Dr. Hannah, 1875, the editor places this poem and five others at the end of Raleigh's, with the explanation, « because I cannot satisfy myself that the evidence is conclusive in Raleigh's favour. But I do not exclude them altogether, because in each case there is some evidence that others have accepted, and *no stronger claim has been set up for any other person* ». I think however that the claim of Hunnis to this one poem is undoubtedly stronger, from the evidence of persistent later ascription.

The next poem after this contested one commences the enumeration as N° 1. « Our pleasures are Vanities », with the moral running in the first two syllables of each line.

« Behold the blast, which blows the blossoms from the tree », a characteristic figure of speech suitable for the Royal Gardener at Greenwich. This is uniformly ascribed to Hunnis.

N° 44. « Being asked the occasion of his White Hairs », (« Where sethying sighes and sower sobbes »), is ascribed to Lord Vaux in 1576, but it is claimed by Hunnis in later editions.

N° 55. « Finding no joy, he desireth (1) death », (« The cony in his cave the ferret doth annoye ») and 56. « Hope well and Have well » (« In hope the Shipman hoiseth saile »), are both ascribed to Hunnis.

N° 57 is also attributed to him, « He repenteth his folly », beginning : « When first mine eyes did view and marke thy beautie faire for to behold ». But this had already appeared in Tottel's *Miscellany*, among the poems attributed to Sir Thomas Wyat. It appeared in the edition of 1577, attributed to Hunnis, and curiously enough in the edition of 1578 also, in which there is another poem under the same title attributed to him commencing : « Alacke when I look back ». This is undoubtedly by him, as it appears incorporated in his *Seven Sobbes of a Sorrowful Soule for Sinne*, 1583. Only the latter form appears in later editions. In the Bodleian copy of 1578, against these verses there is written in an old hand « Vide Cantu ».

N° 59. « He complaineth his Mishapp », (« Shall rigour reigne when youth hath ron » is ascribed to M. H., but later editions prove that this meant M. or Mr Hunnis. The poems of Edwards are always signed M. E. or M. Edwards.

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(1) Another poem with the same title, is ascribed to another writer.

N° 60. « No Foe to a Flatterer (« I would it were not as I thinke, I would it were not so ») is given as anonymous, but is afterwards claimed by Hunnis.

N° 61. « The Spider with great skill » here anonymous, appears in later editions as « His comparison of Love », the above title being the first line of the poem. It is also allowed to Hunnis.

N° 63. « With painted speech », here ascribed to M. B., in later editions appears under the title « He assureth his Constancy », and is restored to Hunnis.

This poem is particularly interesting to me, as it contains the nearest foreshadowing of the thoughts of one of Shakespeare's Sonnets, and it has never been noted by the writers on this theme, though I pointed it out in the Berlin *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, Band xxv. 1890 :

> With painted speech I list not prove my cunning for to trie
> Nor yet will use to fill my pen, with guilefull flatterie
> With pen in hand, and hart in brest, shall faithfull promise make
> To love you best and serve you most for your good vertues sake,
> And sure Dame Nature hath you deckt with gifts above the rest,
> Let not disdaine a harbour finde within your noble brest » etc.
>
> Compare Shakespeare's Sonnets xx and xxxiii.

N° 66. « No Paines comparable to his Attempt » (« What watch, what wo, what want, what wrack ») here ascribed to Hunnis, is changed in later editions, and under the same title, a new poem is placed, known by its first line : « Like as the doleful Dove delights alone to be ».

N° 68. « The Fruit of Fained Frendes by W. H. » beginning « In choice of friends what hap had I ? » ends « Fie, fie upon such trechery ». To this in later editions a moral is added,

> « If such false shippes doo haunt the shore
> Strike down the sayle and trust no more »,

attributed to M. Edwards. This shews that this poem of Hunnis must have been written before Edward's death. It is quite possible that Hunnis himself handed over Edward's additional lines to the later editions. The numbering ceases towards the end. The poem entitled « Of the meane Estate » commencing « The higher that the Cedar Tree » is attributed to L. V. or Lord Vaux in the first edition, whereas later editions allow it to William Hunnis. The verses headed « Beyng

in trouble he writeth thus » (« In terrors trap with thraldome thrust ») attributed here to J. M. or J. Marshall, are also by Hunnis, and have been noted in relation to his imprisonment in the Tower. Each of the two latter lines is noted « Bis », shewing that they had been set to music, probably by Edwards. Thus while Hunnis has only been credited with nine poems in the first edition, he had really written fourteen, if we allow him the earlier form of « He repenteth his folly », and thirteen if not. In either case, he was the *chief* contributor as regards quantity, and his name should certainly have appeared among the list of poets on the title page.

This oversight was rectified in the next edition of 1577, which expands the title, and varies the list of contributors, while including W. Hunnis, it excludes M. Bewe and R. Hill.

The 1578 edition rearranges the poems considerably, alters the attribution to various authors, and 14 new poems are added. This edition contains the only copy of a poem called « Twenty good precepts, by G. Whetstone ».

The poems by Hunnis are advanced in place, his « Our pleasures are Vanities » being enumerated as N° 1, and following immediately « the Introduction of St. Barnard ». Some good specimens of his style are also added « That love is requited by Disdaine » (« In serche of things that secret are, my mated muse began »), « Of a contented Estate », beginning « In welth we see some welthy men », and the special conceit, « If thou desire to live in quiet rest », a complex poem with the title running through the first two words of the eight lines. In an old hand against the first verse is written in the Bodleian copy « Vide Cantaru pr' eodem authore ». This poem is selected as an example of a rare device and witty conceit by William Webbe in his *Discourse on English poetry* 1586 : « These two verses by W. Hunnis are nowe as it were resolved into dyvers other, every two wordes or sillables being the beginning of another like verse of the sort ». Webbe also records acrostic verses which seem to him a new fashion, and considers the turning of verses and infolding of words, as very witty. In the Stationers Registers, 1566-7, there was allowed to Alexander Lacye a Ballette intituled « Who lest to leve at ease, and lede a quyet lyf, 4d. » which seems likely to have been the same poem.

« The Dialoge between the Auctour and his Eye (« My eye, why didst thou light on that which was not thine ») ascribed to M. Hunnis, is also by William Hunnis (1).

The edition of 1580 adds a « Reply to Mr Edwards May, by M. S. » ; and several new poems by Hunnis. There are now eighteen poems in all ascribed to him. In the 1596 edition there are the same number, and we must not forget that this appeared just the year before his death (2).

Through the varying editions of the Sixteenth Century Miscellanies, besides following the progress of the individual authors, we may study the efforts by which the English poetical language was being filed and polished into an instrument fit for the finer expression of the more subtle imagery of later Elizabethan thought, and find in them a treasure house of suggestion. We know that among the foundations of Shakespeare's literary culture, we must class an acquaintance with the poems of *The Paradyse of Dainty Deuises*, and for that reason, if for no other, it is worthy our careful study.

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(1) This Bodleian copy of 1578 once belonged to Malone, who entered in it many interesting MS. notes. Bound together with it is *A light Bondell of lively discourses called Churchyard's charge*. Another interesting Miscellany is preserved in manuscript in the same volume, called A Handful of pleasant delites, containing sundry new sonets and delectable histories in divers kinds of meeter, newly devised to the newest tunes. By Clement Robinson and divers others. London. Richard Jones, 1584. This Malone tells us was transcribed from the only copy of that collection he had ever seen. I note it again in Chapter XVII.

(2) See terminal Note on this Chapter.

CHAPTER XV.

HIS CRONY THOMAS NEWTON.

Speaking about the authors of a *Paradise of dainty Devices* Wood mentions « Will. Hunnys, a crony of Thomas Newton, the Latin Poet ».

In the *Athenae Cantabrigenses* it is stated that « Newton was born in Cheshire, the *eldest son* of Edward Newton of Butley in the parish of Presbury (1), that he was educated in Grammaticals under John Brownsword, went young to Oxford, but gaining little there, passed on to Queen's College, Cambridge. He was so famous for his Latin poems that he was numbered among the most noted poets of the time in that language. With good success he practised physic at Macclesfield, was encouraged by the Earl of Essex, and afterwards settled at Ilford, and taught school there ».

Wood slightly varies the account (2). He says that he « was sent to Oxford at 13, then to Cambridge, where he settled at Queen's College. He returned through Oxford, taught school at Macclesfield or near it; practised physic, was patronised by Robert, Earl of Essex, and appointed to the Rectory of Ilford, 4th June 1583. He was noted for Latin poetry ».

Mr. Lee in his Life of Lord Herbert of Cherbury (p. 38) says that he believes he was the Mr. Newton, Schoolmaster at Didlebury, near Macclesfield, to whom Lord Herbert was sent about the age of ten (1592-3), and he adds in the note, that Wood says that « Thomas Newton taught school there with much success ». This hardly seems possible. The medical and reverend Thomas Newton dates none of his books from either Macclesfield (3) or Didlebury, they are either from Butley,

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(1) The Parish Registers of Presbury are now printed. Add. MS. 5858.

(2) Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses*, II, 5.

(3) He writes one of his Epigrams « to his son Emmanuel at Macclesfield »; « Illustrium aliquot Anglorum Encomia », 1589.

London, or little Ilford. Seeing he was appointed Rector of the latter village in 1583 (1), it is unlikely he would have returned to Didlebury in 1592. The registers of Barking and little Ilford prove a fairly continued residence there, even before the time of his appointment. « On the 11th October 1582, Zachary Newton, son of Thomas Newton, Minister, was buried at Barking ». Several other Newtons appear in the same books, so it may be supposed he had relatives there. Some one else must have been mistaken for him by Mr. Lee. The name is not at all uncommon. There was a Thomas Newton who married Isbell Myllor on 24th Jan. 31 Hen. VIII at St. Margarets, Westminster (2), who had a large family there, probably the same Mr. Newton who resided in « The Almery (3) » 1565. There was a Thomas Newton admitted to Gray's Inn 1576, and many others might be recorded.

On the other hand, another « Mr. » Newton must have distinguished himself somewhere. Because among the Privy Signet Patents of November 1604, is a warrant to pay £200 to Adam Newton, schoolmaster to the Prince. In December there is a further warrant « to pay to Adam Newton, Schoolmaster to the Prince, £300 presently as his Majesty's free gift, further to pay to him yearly £200 from Michaelmas last, until he shall be advanced by his Majestie to some further preferment. Westminster, 17th Dec. 1604 (passed before) ».

Little Ilford (4) lies two miles north of Barking, Essex, in the half-hundred of Becontree, and in the same division as Great Ilford. The small and ancient church of St. Mary, Little Ilford, still exists. Small as it is, it seems to have been quite large enough for the parishioners. The christenings rarely exceeded two a year. Sometimes there were none. The Register dates from 1539, the family of « Newton » bulk largely in its pages. « Moses Newton was christened Dec. 26th 1583 » and « On Feb. 3th 1584-5, Faith, daughter of Mr. Thomas Newton was christened ». On Feb. 12th of the same year she was buried, and her brother Moses followed her two days later.

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(1) Newcourt's *Repertorium*. Vol. II. p. 346.
(2) Registers, St. Margaret's, Westminster.
(3) Collectors' Book. Overseers of the Poor, St. Margaret's, Westminster.
(4) See Morant's *Hist. and Antiquities of Essex*, also County Directory.

« On May 19th 1586, Grisell Newton daughter of Mr. Thomas Newton » was baptized ; and on « March 9th (O. S.) 1587-8, Abel Newton, son of Mr. Thomas Newton ». « On Sept. 27th, 1589, Sara Newton, daughter of Mr. Thomas Newton, was baptized ».

Besides these, he « buried on May 18th 1588, Charitie Newton », and on the Jan. 18th, following, « Israel Newton ». « Sara Newton was buried on Feb. 12th 1593 ».

That he had other children may be seen by his poems in the « Encomia », 1589, to his son Emanuel Newton at Macclesfield, (who might have been the teacher), as well as to his little son Abel, but only Grisell and Abel, seem to have survived him. It seems to me quite probable that he taught school at Ilford, if he taught anywhere. Teaching could well be performed along with the pastoral care of so small a parish, in a way that it could not be combined with medical duties at Macclesfield.

The chief of his works were *A notable History of the Saracens* and *A summary or Brief Chronicle of the Saracens and Turks*, printed and bound together in 1575, and dedicated to Lord Howard of Effingham.

Approved medicines, and cordial precepts with the nature and symptoms of disease 1580.

Illustrium aliquot Anglorum Encomia, 1589 published at the end of a reprint of John Leland's *Encomia*.

He wrote commendatory verses to preface books written by his friends, such as appear before Lyte's *Herbal*. Will Statyers *History of Great Britain*, William Hunnis' *Hive full of Hunnuy* 1577-8, Rabbard's publication of Ripley's *Compound of Alchemy*, 1591, Carter's Notes on Seton's *Logic*, Batman's Writings, *The Schoolmaster*, by Paul Ives, *Bellay* 1589, *The Epitaph on Lady Knowles*, and an epilogue to Heywood's « Workes » 1587.

He is supposed by some to have written the encomium on Grafton, which prefaces Grafton's Chronicles. But it is not at all likely that the Thomas Newton who praises Stow, would be the T. N. who praises Grafton. It is more likely that the latter would be the *Thomas Norton*, who was a brother of the Grocer's Company, and member for the City after Grafton (1).

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(1) I give this note on the trustworthy authority of Mr. Kingdon.

Newton has been credited with « Atropoion Delion (1), or the Death of Delia, with the tears of her funeral a poetical discursive account of our late Eliza, » 1603. But as there is a reference to « my youngling muse », it must surely have been by some other of the name. To the same author I would attribute another work credited to our Thomas Newton, « A pleasant new History or a fragrant Posie made three flowers, Rosa, Rosalynd and Rosemary 1604 ». It seems to me that Newton was well aware there was some other for whom he might be mistaken, as he always adds to his name, the limitation of « Cestreshyrius ». He was at one time believed to be the author of Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* (2).

He translated a number of valuable books. « The worthy Book of old age, or The elder Cato 1569 », is mentioned by Nash in his preface to Greene's *Arcadia* and by Meres, 1598 (3). « A direction for the health of Magistrates and Students from Gul. Gratalorus, 1574 ». « Touchstone of complexions containing most easie rules and ready tokens whereby every man may perfectly try and thoroughly know as well the exact state, habit, disposition and constitution of his body outwardly, as also the indications of the mind inwardly. From the Latin of Levinus Lemmius, 1576 ». « The Book of Cicero ». March 1577.

« Commentary on Peter and Jude, 1581 » from Martin Luther. « The third Tragedy of L. Ann. Seneca, entitled *Thebais* » 1581. He seems to have translated this to complete the tragedies of Seneca, which he edited that year, and dedicated to Sir Thomas Heneage, (published by T. Marsh). Jasper Heywood had translated the 1st, the 2nd and the 6th (of Hecuba and the Siege of Troy). Alexander Neville the 5th ; John Studley the 4th, the 7th, the 8th, the 10th ; and the 9th was written by T. Nuce.

« Of Christian friendship with an invective against Dice-play, by Lamb. Danaeus, 1586 ». « The old man's dietarie » in the same year. « The trial and examination of a man's own self, by Andr. Hiperius » 1587. « The Herbal of the Bible by Levinus

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(1) One copy is preserved in the Bodleian Library.

(2) Marlowe really drew his material from Newton's prose of the Chronicle of the Saracens and Turks.

(3) Also in Harl. MS. 5905.

Lemmius » 1587. « A view of Valyance, the Romans and Carthaginians » a translation of Rutilius Rufus, was published after his death, in 1620. He edited the works of his Master, John Brownsword of Macclesfield in 1589.

There are interesting associations between his works and those of Hunnis, that are worth studying. It is also worth noting the association of their patrons. Both were connected with the Earls of Essex, both dedicated to Sir Thomas Heneage. Whether they had known each other from their youth or not, I cannot tell ; but there was some degree of assured friendliness by 1577 at least, as we may see by his address to Hunnis in the preface to the *Hyve full of Hunnye*. The English verses Newton wrote to Hunnis are not brilliant in regard to their poetical perfection, but rich in information concerning his friend's life. In the quiet rural reaches of Ilford, as it then appeared, they had an opportunity of that increasing intimacy which is witnessed by the Encomia. It is quite possible that Hunnis was interested in the musical education of the boys of Newton, if he really kept school at Ilford. His Latin verses among the Encomia of Illustrious Englishmen, are irreproachable in their Latinity, but tell us very little beyond the fact of his devoted friendship.

« Illustrium aliquot Anglorum Encomia
A Thoma Newtono Cestreshyrio, succisinis
Horulis exarata, Londini. Apud Thomam Orwinum 1589(1) ».

After verses to Whitgift, Francis Drake, Essex (2), Leicester, Udall, etc. written during his leisure hours, appears one :

« Ad Guiliel. Hunnissum, amicum integerrimum
De Jo. Stoeo Chronographo.

Anglica scire cupis solidè quis Chronica scribat ?
Stous id egregia præstat Hunnisse fide.
Quottidiè é tenebris is multa volumina furuis.
Eruit, is mandat plurima scripta typis.
Ex nitida illius deprompsi ego Bibliotheca
Plurima, quae nobis nocte diéque patet ».

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(1) This work appears at the end of Leland's *Encomia* ; whether it is a 2nd edition, is not clear.

(2) Illustrissimorum aliquot Heroum, hodie viventium, aliorumque huic inde Anglorum encomia quaedam, etc. See Herbert's edition of *Ames' Typographical Antiquities*.

Which may be translated roughly ; —

> To William Hunnis my sterling friend
> Concerning John Stow, Chronographer
> Do you wish to know positively who is writing the English Chronicle ?
> Stow is answerable for it, Hunnis, with singular accuracy.
> Day after day he rescues many volumes from oblivion and the flames.
> He commits still more writings to type.
> From his well-arranged Library I have extracted many
> things which for us are open night and day ».

Altogether Mr. Newton was a estimable friend for a man to possess ; and if there is anything to be based on the proverb, that a man may be known by his chosen companions, we may find some reflection of the character of Hunnis in that of the Rector of Little Ilford. One point may be noted that though an ardent Protestant, inclining to Puritanism, « Thomas Newton was one of the few who opposed gambling with much vigour, and theatrical amusements with some censure (1) », who could yet see the value of the latter. He disagreed with St. Chrysostom, that the devil invented stage-plays by his craft and policy ; and with St. Augustine, who forbade the giving of money to see plays. Newton says « these kind of persons doe after a sorte, let out their labour unto us ; and their industrie many times is laudable ».

Thomas Newton lived ten years longer than his friend. His will, to some may be interesting, for the number of names referred to. It (2) was made on the 27th April 1607, in « reasonable good health and perfect memory ». He left 40s for ornaments for the church ; £10 to his brother Philip Newton, to his sisters Hellen Hollingshed and Marie Brendret £10 each, 40s each to his late servants. To his son Abel £200 ; to his daughter Grysell Weekes £20, which was carefully secured to herself on account of « the unthrifty courses of her husband, and his hard and unkind dealing with her ». To Edward Newton son of his late brother William £5. To Jane Harwood, mother of Edward Newton 15s ». « To Mistress Marie Glover, Mistress to my

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(1) Preface to Northbrook's *Invectives against Dicing, dancing, playes and Interludes*. Shakespeare Society Publications 1843.

(2) Somerset House 53. Huddleston.

sonne Abel Newton, for a poor token of kind remembrance, I give a double soveraigne, value 15s, not doubting but she will continue a good mistress to my saide sonne her apprentice, and bring him up in the feare of God and in good order, behaviour and civility. To my said sonne Abell my 2 best feather beddes, bolsters, blanckets, 2 coverlets of Arras, my best joyned bedstead, 12 paire of good sheets, two dozen of flaxen napkins, twoo of my best tablecloths, my best great Bible, three chestes, one joyned cupboard, 2 joyned Tables, with formes and frames, eyght joyned stooles, thirty or forty good bookes or Librarie by the advice of some godlie learned friend, together also withall such brasse, pewter, iron and wooden ware as I shall leave undisposed at my death. To my daughter Griszell I give my second best Bible of Geneva print, 3 pair sheets, one dozen of napkins, with such competente number of books as shall be deemed by mine executors and some other godlie frende to be fit, necessary and profitable for her. To Mr. William Fisher of Great Ilford my book of Cheminisius, intituled « Examen Concilii Tridentium », and two other books of Avetius, the one upon the foure Evangelists, and the other upon the Acts of the Appostles. To Mr. William Walgrave I give 20s. To John Preston, Citizen-Haberdasher of London £3, and to his wife 20s. To Mr. Holliday, Almister of Great Ilforde 10s. To each of the poor Almsmen of the Hospital there, 2s. To old Joane Orwin of Ivie Lane, London, 10s ». My faithful loving countryman and friend Peter Crowther, citizen and clothworker of London, Executor trusting his fidelitie and conscience in the Lorde that he will be carefull and respective in the due execution of this my present will and testament, for the discharge of my conscience and the benefit of my children, kindred and friends ».

The overseers appointed were Mr. Richard Glover (1), citizen and Pewterer of London, and « my brother Philip ». « Item I give unto Felix Kingston £5. To my nephew Thomas Tithrington £5, and the residue to be divided equally between my son, my daughter, and my executor ».

This Will apparently proves that he had not been the eldest

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(1) To whom his son Abel had been apprenticed.

son of his father, or he would surely have had some claims in Cheshire (1); that there was no other « Thomas » nearly related to him; that his only surviving son was Abel (2), aged about 19, and apprenticed to a pewterer. It suggests that he had had kindly relations with his publishers, that he should have remembered in his will Joane Orwin, widow of Thomas Orwin, who had published his *Encomia*. In the sharing of his library by his friends between his children, one may only guess what would be the principle of division. Abel did not seem to be of a literary turn, or he would hardly have become apprenticed to a pewterer, while he had a father able to educate him for a profession. It may be taken for granted that all the works of William Hunnis were in that Library, and that the Executors would likely relegate his « Seven Sobbes of a sorrouful soul for sin » to the unhappily married Grisell Weekes.

Thomas Newton must have died shortly after making his will, as it was proved on the 13th June 1607.

Important among the Latin Scholars of his time, among the medical writers, Thomas Newton cannot be forgotten in the history of tragedy.

To him men owed the volume that Nash described as the storehouse of plagiarist tragedians « The English Seneca », which had so powerful an influence in the development of the sixteenth century Drama.

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(1) Among the Privy Signet Warrants for October 1603, is a curious one which may concern one of his relatives (A pardon to Mr. Newton). Thomas Newton of Tranmore, in the County Palatine of Chester, for all felonies and robberies by him committed at any time before the 11th of May last past ».

(2) It is possible that Adam Newton, Schoolmaster to the Prince, was his relative but considered as too well off to be mentioned in his poor will.

The same may be true of his son Emanuel at Macclesfield, whom he addresses in the « Encomia ».

CHAPTER XVI.

« THE HIVE FULL OF HUNNYE ». 1577-8.

While the *Paradise of Dainty Devices* was being printed, Hunnis must have been engaged on the work, which, of all his efforts, seems by the publishing test to have been the least successfull. *The Hive full of Hunnye* was licensed in 1577, to Thomas Marsh and it appeared in 1578, dedicated to the Earl of Leicester, and prefaced by Thomas Newton. The licence, the dedication and the laudation, are each worthy of notice, « 1st Dec. 1577 Master Marshe, licensed unto him the Booke of Genesis, an Hive full of Honnye, the garden of the greate goodness of God, gathered together in English meeter, XIId and a copie ». Stationers' Registers. It was not often that the title was treated so fully, nor often that so much as « 12d and a copy » was given for the licence. It seems to me that Marsh, expecting great popularity, had prepared a large issue. The full title on the book is « A Hive full of Hunnye, contayning the first booke of Moses called Genesis. Turned into English Meeter by William Hunnis, one of the gent. of her Majesties Chappel, and Maister of the Children of the same. Seene and allowed, according to the order appointed. Imprinted at London in Fleet Street, near unto St. Dunstans Church by Thomas Marsh, 1578. Cum privilegio ». It contains 136 leaves, A. Kk, quarto, Black Letter. Dedicated to the Earl of Leicester.

Ames (1) states that there was an octavo as well as a Quarto edition, but I have found no trace of an octavo edition, and only know two copies of the Quarto, one in the Bodleian, and one in the British Museum. The copyright was transferred by « Edward Marsh to Thomas Orwyn, 23rd June 1591 », among the copies belonging to Thomas Marsh deceased, under the title « Genesis in Verse », but it never seems to have been reprinted in extenso.

(1) *Typographical Antiquities*, Herbert and Dibdin's edition.

William Hunnis, it may be remembered, had been in evidence at the great shews at Kenilworth (1), and doubtless the great Earl had been liberal to him then. It is quite probable that on receiving of his bounty, Hunnis might have expressed his gratitude by asking to dedicate to him a book on which he must have been employed even then. But circumstances had somewhat changed. Of all poets, Hunnis had the best opportunity of judging, it may be thought, of the truth or falsehood of the suspicions cast on the Earl of Leicester, in connection with the death of the Earl of Essex. In common with all the world, he must have heard rumours concerning Leicester's relations with the Countess. But, remembering, how he himself had been at one time touched by a similar report, he might have deemed it scandal, and Leicester's hasty though secret marriage, an honest attempt to right the Lady in the eyes of the world. Leicester could speak fair words in the ears of his friends.

He might have really considered Sir Henry Sidney's « report » sufficient to clear the powerful Earl. Leicester had taken over his masterless boy Robin, held him in his power, and had been extra liberal to him, probably to silence his tongue. It was dangerous to offend « the black Bear ». Therefore, whatever he thought, for his boy's sake Hunnis retained the Dedication. It may not have been in the form he originally planned. It is very calm, for that day of fulsome adulation, and there is a sort of « *sous-entendu* » of suspicion in the last line, warning the all powerful favourite « that Death will have his fee ». In the Bodleian copy there is a portrait of Leicester on the second page, which may or may not have been an interpolation. It is not mentioned in any description of the work. But it may have been there, and may have been removed from the British Museum copy, which has no present trace of a portrait. On the reverse is the muzzled Bear and ragged Staff, surrounded by a scroll and « Honi soit qui mal y pense ».

The next page opens with the Dedication, in an acrostic (2).

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(1) See Chap. XIX.

(2) In those days acrostics were comparatively new. Eight years afterwards Webbe says : « A like invention or rather a better have I seene oft practised in framing a whole dittie to the letter of one's name ».

« To the Right Honorable and his Singuler good Lord, the Lorde Robert Dudley, Baron of Denbigh, Earl of Leycester, Knight of the most noble order of the Garter, Maister of the Queenes Maiesties Horse, and one of her Highnesse most honorable Prevye Counsell

William Hunnis wisheth encrease of Honor, Health and Dignitie unto the Will and pleasure of the Almightie.

R. Remembering how a Persian poore presented to his King,
O. Of water cleare in homely handes from out the sprouting spring,
B. Because the King wel understood, how zeale in Gyvers thought
E. Exceeded far the simple gift, the seelie geever brought ;
R. Received it in gracious part, and thankful was therefore
T. That such as greater Gyfts did gyve, of thanks deserved no more.

L. Likewise (my Lord) with this poore gift your Honor I present,
E. Example of the Persian Prince, I trust shall move contente.
Y. Your Honors bountie towards mee, more than I heere confesse
C. Compelleth mee in humble sort, my duetie to expresse :
E. Esteeme therfore my Right good Lord, the valour of the mynd :
S. So as the Geevor shal deserve your Fauour for to fynde
T. The Lord of Lords and King of Kings, under whose might ye be
E. Encrease your Honor and your Health, good dayes and years to see
R. Remember yet among the rest, that Death wyl have his fee.

Your good Lordshipp's to commaund.
W. Hunnis.

It is not at all enthusiastic, and it is quite possible his modest praise retarded the success of « A Hive full of Hunnye ».

On the reverse is another acrostic of his own name in the address « To the friendly Reader ».

W. What Deede is done, or Worke wel wrought, but some thereat repyne ?
I. It is Rewarde to better sort the lesse of Care is myne.
L. Looke not for fyled Wordes and Termes, nor Phraze that Poetes chuse.
I. It is forbidden in this Worke as thing not meet to use.
A. A Saphire right no colour craves to set it forth you know,
M. More baser gold, more plainly set, more fresh the gemme doth shew.

H. Heere have I set, (but not in gold), a rich and precious stone ;
U. Unskilful though the same be wrought my Payne yet thinke uppon.
N. Not Payne so much as my Desire the better sort to please
N. Nought els I craue, but your good Wyl, these labours mine to ease.
I. In setting of this Pearle of Price wherein I do offend ;
S. Such faultes correct, as you them fynde, and show yourself a friend ».

Facing this appears the crest and coat of Arms of William

Hunnis, not as it appears in Burke but in the Bodleian M. S. (1). The motto is « Spe et Labore », and below this is printed ; —

The Hyve doth House the harmlesse Bee
That Hony swete doth make ;
Whose little limmes wyth Laboures longe
Still streyneth for our sake.
Let us likewise learne of this Beast
Each one in his Degree
To suck the sappe of Sacred Woorde
That Heauen oure Hyve may bee.

Then follows Thomas Newton's praise of the Author.

T. N. In commendation of this his Frendes Trauvayle.

In prime of youth thy pleasant Penne depaincted Sonets sweete,
Delightfull to the greedy Eare, for youthfull Humour meete,
Therein appeared thy pregnant wit, and store of fyled Phraze
Enough t'astoune the doltish Drone, and lumpish Lout amaze,
Thy Enterludes, thy gallant Layes, thy Rond'letts and thy Songes,
Thy Nosegay and thy Widowes' Mite, with that thereto belonges,
With other fancies of thy forge, well-hammered by skill,
Declare what meale of finest graine thou grindest in thy Mille
By which wee eas'ly knowe thy vaine, and by that Pittaunce finde,
What golden gifts lodge in thy breast, and Aumbrey of thy minde.
We see thy Nature link'd to Arte, thy Hart to Learning's lawe ;
As who doth not a Lion know if he but see the Pawe ;
Descendinge then in riper years to stuffe of further reache,
Thy schooled Quill by deeper skill did graver matters teache,
And now to knit a perfect Knot ; In winter of thine age
Such argument thou chosen hast for this thy Style full sage,
As far surmounts the Residue (though al in pith excell)
And makes thy frendes to joye thereat, but Foes with spight to swell.
This work I meane of Sacred Lore, this hault Philosophy
Which through thy paine, and stayed Braine, wee heare behold and see
In curraunt Meeter, roundlie couched, and soundly taught withall
As they which Text with verse compare ful soone acknowledge shal
Great thankes (noe doubt) thou hast deserued of all that thirst for grace
Syth thus thou minced hast the Foode, which Good men all embrace,
The Holie Ghost, from whom thou dost, this Heavenly Honnie sucke
Directe thy minde, and to thy penne allotte most happy lucke.
Thomas Newton.

The heaviness of Newton's English verse makes us almost wonder at his fame as a Latin poet. But there is no doubt of the affection he felt for his friend, and the admiration he had for his labours. The third line refers to Hunnis' « store of fyled phraze », though the author carefully addresses the reader :

(1) See Chap. XI.

« Look not for fyled wordes and Termes nor Phraze that Poetes chuse ;
It is forbidden in this woorke as thing not meet to use ».

This would seem to justify my contention, that metrical versions of Scripture were not intended or expected to shew a Poet's style. Thomas Newton's words give some insight into the poet's biography, and provide us with the fullest Bibliography we have. We only wish both had been more definite. One little figure probably was suggested to the writer by the residence of Hunnis being in the Almonry : « The Aumbrey of thy mind ».

Then follows the Argument of the book, and Genesis is treated chapter by chapter, with illustrations of the Pedigrees, in circles, sidenotes and explanations, from the Fathers, and other religious authorities, or from the writer's own opinions. It shows an amount of scholarship that suggests a university education. But many College Registers are defective just at the times at which Hunnis might have matriculated, or have taken his Degree, so this has not been traced.

The style is dull in the extreme, and the versification often grotesque. The effort was a belated outcome of the Sternhold and Hopkins influence, probably intended as a companion to Christopher Tye's metrical rendering of the Acts of the Apostles, and the lost metrical version of the Book of Kings. It was evidently written to be learnt by his boys, to be sung in service, as well as by those who cared to do so. It would seem to have been an effort of the Puritanic half of him, to leave behind some « graver matter », to counteract what might be called frivolous in his plays. On the last page of the book there is a list of Errata, of which one or two are interesting.

« Faultes escaped in the printing of this booke, etc... Cap. 9, verse 26, and Cap. 50, verse 6. The two last lines are superfluous... ». « Other smaller oversights if any bee, I am to request the freendly Reader, as he fyndeth them, to amend them ».

This may of course be by the printer, but it is much more likely to have been by the poet.

Though a second edition of the work has not been recorded, there *may* have been one.

More than one part of the work appeared separately, both before and after 1578. In 1568-9 we find in the Stat. Reg.

« Richard Jonnes licensed to print a Ballett The Chaste Life of Joseph 4d ». 1568-9, 20. John Allde The troubles of Josephus. « 1569-70 Richard Johnes, Ballett, Example of Chastitie ».

On August 1st, 1586, « Edward White was lycensed to publish Ballads, among which were, « The Creation of the World and Adam's Fall», and « The first fall of Adam and Eve ».

Four parts of *the Hive full of Hunnye* and *The Chaste Life of Joseph,* were incorporated later in his *Recreations.*

CHAPTER XVII.

MINOR POEMS.

« Thy sonets sweete...
.... thy gallant layes, thy rondletts and thy songes,
Thy *Nosegay* and thy *Widowes Mite*, with that thereto belongs ».

The sonnets, lays, roundlets and songs, may be all lost, or may be preserved anonymously in some of the miscellanies of the time. The term sonnet was but loosely used. Perhaps the verses preserved in the *Paradise of Dainty Devices* illustrated these fairly. The two poems in *England's Helicon* may be taken as an example of his gallant lays. *The Widow's Mite* is extant, and clearly attributed to Hunnis, but no one has determined the existence or character of *The Nosegay*.

At the same period that *The Court of Venus* was licensed to Henry Sutton after 19th July 1557, there was licensed to « John Kinge these bokes following, A Nosegaye, the Schole-House of Women, and also, a Sack full of Newes XIId ». It is of course possible, but extremely improbable that this was Becon's prose « Nosegay », for Becon was then one of the forbidden writers. A good many contemporary poems use the substantive with some distinguishing adjective attached. This makes it all the more probable that some well known and successful poem with that title had already appeared. For example, William Tregoo, wrote « A dainty Nosegaie of divers smells, conteyning manie pretie ditties to divers effects compiled in English verse », « licensed to Thomas East 16th April 1578 ».

The only poem I have found simply entitled « A Nosegay » is the first poem in the Miscellany transcribed by Malone after the 1578 copy of *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* in the Bodleian. This is quite like enough to the style of Hunnis, to be considered as possible to be *The Nosegay* ascribed to him

(1) See Terminal Note.

by Newton. I give the full title of the rare Miscellany. It is quite probable this may not have been the first edition.

« A Handfull of pleasant delites, containing sundrie new sonnets and delectable Histories in divers kinds of meeter. Newly deuised to the newest tunes that are now in use to be sung ; everie sonet orderly printed to his proper tune. With new additions of certain songs to verie late deuised notes not commonly knowen, nor used heretofore. By Clement Robinson and divers others. At London, Printed by Richard Jhones dwelling at the signe of the Rose and Crowne near Holburne Bridge 1584 ».

The Printer to the Reader says ; —

« You that in music do delight
Your minds for to solace
This little booke of Sonets may
Wel like you in that case ».

Among the poems are « A new sonet of Pyramus aud Thisbie to the tune of Down right Squier ». « An excellent song of an outcast Lover to the tune of All in a garden green ». « A faithful vow of two constant lovers, to the tune of The new Rogero ». Though I relegate the verses to the notes, as I am the first to suggest the attribution of them to Hunnis, on the strength of the title, and some special words and phrases, I think it may be interesting to give the first lines ; —

« A Nosegaie alwaies sweet for Lovers to send for tokens of love ».

« Lavender is for lovers true etc.
« Rosemarie is for remembrance etc.
« Sage is for sustenance etc.
« Fennel is for flaterers etc.
« Violet is for faithfulnesse etc.
« Time is to trie me etc.
« Roses is to rule me etc.
« Geliflowers is for gentleness etc.
« Carnations is for graciousness etc.
« Marigolds is for marriage etc.
« Peniriall is to print your love etc.
« Cowsloppes is for counsell etc. ».

It may be noted that along with *The Nosegay*, Newton (1578) mentions *The Widow's Mite*, and it may be taken for granted, that the little booklet had been written before that

date, and probably even printed, though no copy has come down to us.

« The Poore Widowes Mite
Gathered by William Hunnis one of the Gentlemen of Hir Highnesse Chapell and Master to the Children of the same ».

« Who knocks with hope, and craues in faith,
Shall have their just request ;
By love who seeks, the way shall find
To port of quiet rest ».

This is dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, to whom he writes an acrostic, with significant allusions to his own powerty. It may have stimulated some of his curious « grants ».

« To the Queenes Maiesties Highnesse.

E. Except your Highness will allow
this gift of humble mind
L. Lacke shall my hope the gladsome fruit
it sought thereby to find.
I. If gift with giuers loiall hart
your Maiestie will trie,
Z. Zeale more than gift shall triumph then
before your Princelie eie,
A. A Persian prince, in gratious part,
took water of the well,
B. Because he sawe the givers zeale,
the givers gift excell :
E. Even so my zeale, renowned Queene
equivalent is with his,
Th. Though I offence commit to give
so slender gift as this.

R. Remembering yet your Princelie wont
of clemencie withall ;
E. Example such hath boldened me
upon my knee to fall.
G. Great gifts of gold, and gems of price
poore Hunnis would present,
I. If he them had ; in stead whereof
hee praies this may content.
N. New yeere and manie God you send,
in health with feare to raigne
A. And after when your spirit departs
with Christ it may remaine.

Your Highnes loiall subiect and humble obedient servant
W. H. ».

It is probable that this was a new year's gift to the Queen. His next known publication was a new year's gift to her

maids. It may be perfectly certain that he would not have addressed them before he had addressed their royal mistress.

In the same year as his « Hive full of Hunnye » appeared, « on Dec. 11th 1578, to Thomas Dawson, Lycensed unto him under the hands of the Bishop of London (1) and the Wardens, A Booke intituled A Handful of Honnisuckles gyven for a newe yeares gift unto the Ladies and gentlewomen of the Privie Chamber, VId ». Collier and some Bibliographers suppose the Handful of Honnisuckles might have been called a « Nosegay ». But it seems to me that a friend so intimate as Newton, when he did mention the title of one of his friend's poems, would not be likely to make a mistake, or be allowed to make one. He was in a position to know. Therefore I think it right to keep the titles distinct, whether *the Nosegay* has been discovered among *the Handfull of pleasant delites* or not. This tiny « New Year's gift », 16mo, must have been a dainty little production, and was probably popular.

« A Handfull of Honnisuckles, Gathered by William Hunnis, one of the gentlemen of hir Highnesse Chapell, and Maister to the Children of the same. Prepared with faith, confirmed with hope and furnished with love,

Approach and praie ; so thou beelowe
Shalt please the Lord above ».

In the Stationer's Registers, 7th Dec. 1580, there is entered « John Aldee. Tolerated unto him, by the Wardens, a newe yeares guifte », though it is not clear that it was the same, or another work of another writer. On 7th November 1581, however, « Master Denham, licensed unto him under thandes of Master Thomas Norton, and both the Wardens, VII Steppes to Heaven, alias the VII Psalmes reduced into meeter by William Hunnys, VId, whereunto are added the Honnysuccles and the Widoe's Myte XIId ». I have not been able to see a copy of any of these issues.

Another edition appeared in 1583, of which a copy is preserved in the British Museum, and another in the Bodleian.

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(1) The new Bishop of London at the time was John Aylmer, the beloved tutor of Lady Jane Grey, and the author of « Ane Herberowe for the faithful » in reply to John Knox's « Monstrous Regiment of Women ».

The title is varied into « Seven Sobbes of a sorrowful soule for sinne, comprehending these seven Psalms of the princelie prophet David, commonly called penitential, framed into a forme of familiar praiers, and reduced into meeter by William Hunnis, one of the gentlemen of hir Maiesties honourable Chappell, and Maister to the Children of the same, Whereunto are also annexed his Handfull of Honisuckles ; the poore Widowes Mite ; a Dialog betweene Christ and a sinner ; divers godlie and pithie ditties, with a Christian confession of and to the Trinitie, newlie printed and augmented. Imprinted at London at the now dwelling house of Henrie Denham in Aldersgate Streete at the signe of the Starre 1583 ». 24mo. Besides these poems mentioned in the title, there are incorporated « The Lamentation touching the follies of our youth » that appeared in the 1578 edition of the Paradise of Dainty Devices ; under the title of « He repenteth his folly », « The Conflict between the Flesh and the Spirit in the soul of man », which might have suggested Bunyan's second allegory of « The Holy War » and several others. « A comfortable Dialogue between Christ and a sinner, touching the Soul's Health », seems to have been printed before. In 1564 « William Pekerynge for his licence for printing of a quere intituled « a godly new Dialogue of Christ and a synner meet for all ages 4d ». It is probably a variation upon this, which was allowed to John Alde in 1568-9. « A Ballett, A Dyalogue between God and Man 4d ». Among a list of Ballads licensed to Edward White, 1st. Aug. 1586 was « A Dialogue between Christ and a sinner » ; and an imitation of this was allowed to « Thomas Nelso, on 7th Nov. 1586, a Ballad of a Christian Conference between Christ and a Sinner ». This is not the same as that of Hunnis in words. A copy of it is preserved among the « Roxburgh Ballads and Broadsides » at the British Museum, « printed by the assignes of Thomas Simcocke ».

No one Bibliographer has given a complete list of all the editions that are known of « the Seven Sobbes » ; and those that are known, evidently do not represent all that appeared.

Whether the earlier editions were dedicated to the same Lady or not, I do not know, but the 1583 edition was dedicated to the Countess of Sussex, a weighty change of front, seeing that the « Hive full of Hunnye » in 1578, had been dedicated to

the Earl of Leicester, the foe of her husband. The Earl of Sussex died in 1583, warning his friends against « that gipsy », meaning the Earl of Leicester. His first wife had been Elizabeth Wriothesley, his second was Frances Sidney. To the latter the author says « To the right honourable and vertuous Ladie, Francis, Countesse of Sussex, and one of the Ladies of hir Maiesties most Honourable Priuie Chamber, W. Hunnis wisheth increase of vertue and honour, with long life, prosperous helth, godlie feare, firm faith, and assured hope in the Almightie.

The proofe of your Ladyship's vertue hath emboldened me to set forth this little worke under your honourable defense. And although a fault by me is committed in making you patronesse of so slender a peace without your knowledge, yet hoping upon your honourable curtesie, which rather respecteth the mind of the giver, than the worthinesse of the gift, and prizing the giver's desire to please, more than the qualitie of the offense, I doo assure myselfe to be remitted of the trespasse, which maketh me thinke my travell not onlie sweet but also very richly recompensed. Your Ladiship's to command.

William Hunnis ».

« The Author to his Book » refers back the glory of it to David the King.

« The Booke to his Readers » gives advice to all to read it with favour. The illustration is of David in Royal Robes at prayer.

Music is set to the Psalms, interesting as being representative of the sacred music of the times. It is probably by Hunnis himself. Following this is « A Handful of Honisuckles », with its own title page, « newlie printed by Henrie Denham 1583 ». « Certaine short and pithie prayers ». After which appears « The Poore Widows Mite », also with its own title page, concluded by « Prayers and meditations ».

The Bibliography is therefore a little obscured by the combination. But we may provisionally take « The Poor Widows Mite » as having appeared, at least before 1577.

The Handful of Honnysuckles 1578.

The seven Steppes to Heaven or the seven Sobbes, 1st edition, 1581. The poor Widow's Mite and Handful of Honysuckles being added to this.

Another edition, 1583, 24mo Brit. Mus. and Bodleian.

Another edition (1), 1585, 24mo, Lowndes says 16mo.

Another edition, 1587, 12mo Brit. Museum.

Another edition, printed by Richard Yardley 1591. See Maunsell and Lowndes, 12mo.

Another edition, 1592, Peter Short. Hazlitt's Collection 1876, and Sotheby's Catalogue, 22nd Nov. 1899, refer to it as a fragment to G. 2.

Another edition, 1597, 12mo « *newlie* printed by Peter Short », but almost verbatim, even to pagination. Bodleian. A title page is in Bagford's Collection.

Another edition, 1610, 12mo. Printed for the Companie of Stationers, London.

Another edition, 1615, see Lowndes. A copy in the Library of the Sacred Harmonic Society, No. 2587. Not known to Ritson. See Eg. MS. 2336.

Another edition, 1618, printed by H. L. for the Companie of Stationers, London. A-G in twelves.

Another edition, 1621, printed by Andro Hart, Edinburgh, see Bagford's Collection.

Another edition, 1629. London, see Hazlitt.

Another edition, 1630, see Lyte, 2001.

Another edition, 1636, belonged to Mr. Bright, see Rev. Joseph Hunter (2) « Chorus Vatum Anglicanorum ».

The next publication was « Hunnies Recreations », a title which goes far to support my opinion that these religious efforts were not the serious *business* of his everyday life. « On 4th Dec. 1587, Henrie Denham, Allowed for his copie so yat he get it lawfully authorised to be print, a booke intituled « Adam's Banishment, Christ his Cribbe, the lost Sheep and the Complaint of old age. vid ». This appeared in 1588, 12mo, see Maunsell, Lowndes, and Ames. There were probably several editions. The one I have read, is dated 1595, 12mo, and is preserved in the British Museum. I have not heard of a later edi-

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(1) There may have been another edition between this and the following, 6th Dec. 1586. Master Denham, received of him for printing the Seven Sobbes, the Handfull of Honiesuckles and the Widowes Mite, vid. Stat. Reg.

(2) Add. MSS. 24, 488. p. 277. Brit. Mus.

tion. This seems to have been his last literary work. « Hunnies Recreations, conteyning foure godlie and compendious discourses, intituled Adam's Banishment, Christ his Crib, The lost Sheepe, The Complaint of old age. Whereunto is newely adjoyned these two notable and pithie Treatises, The Creation or first Weeke, the Life and death of Joseph. Compiled by William Hunnis one of the gentlemen of hir Majesties Chappell, and Maister to the Children of the same. Printed by P. S. for W. Jaggard, and are to be sold at his shoppe at the east end of St. Dunstans church. 1595 ». On the reverse of the title appears.

« The Muse to hir Author.

W. Why fearest thou this gift to give
tho gift of gifts be small
I. If love and zeale thy gift surmount
no cause of feare at all.
LL. Let love with guift the triall make,
and so it shall appeare
I. If troth be foreman of the quest
with love it passeth cleare.
A. And wey to whom the gift is given
such one as loue doth hold
M. More deere than gem of richest price
or wall of beaten golde.

H. Humble thyself in awful sort
and doubtlesse thou shalt find ;
U. Unto thy choice a patron such
to thy desired mind.
N. Now fare thou well, be of good cheare
blush not, ne be afraid,
N. Nor care for frowne of frumping sort,
remember what is said
I. It may so fall (yer it be long),
I will be heere with speed,
S. Such thing to bring as best shall fit
thine humour for to feed ».

It is dedicated « To the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Heneage Knight, one of hir Maiesties privy Counsel, Vize Chamberlen to hir Highnesse, and treasurer of hir Maiesties Chamber, prosperous health, long life, with much increase of Honor.

W. Where spring is small, great streams may not be had,
I. Yet as it is, doe make the owner glad,
LL. Loue me compels a cup thereof to bring
I. If honor please to taste of this poore spring,
A. And dip your lip, a little in the same,
M. My joy were great, though boldnesse merit blame.

H. Heere I present into your honors view
U. Untimely fruit, as in my orchard grew,
N. No better choise therein that I could find
N. Nor other thing that fitted to my mind
I. In better yeare some better fruit may grow
S. Such as shall be are yours, my selfe also ».

It is interesting to remember that Hunnis here addresses the man for whom he had been mistaken by Froude and others, in the story of that old treason. By the time of this edition of these « recreations » he had become the husband of Lady Southampton, the step-father of Shakespeare's Earl of Southampton, and indirectly also the patron of Shakespeare the player, as he was the Treasurer of the Household, at the time of Shakespeare's first known performance there, in 1594. This faithful servant of the Queen was about to pass away (1) and leave his poor Countess to the anxieties of making up his rather badly kept books as Treasurer of the Chamber, to the indignity even of being personally called on by the Queen to pay up arrears promptly.

The « Life of Joseph » is revised and expanded, but the other scriptural passages are almost verbatim selections from the « Hive full of Hunnye ».

There is a new title page for the Life and Death of Joseph, though it has no dedication or introduction, and is only a consecutive narrative of Joseph's Life. The author opens

« Let Joseph teach thee
Love and Chastitie
So shalt thou have ;
A long blessed life
Void of all strife
From birth to grave ».

The most interesting poem in this volume, from a literary point of view, is the last of the group of four, « The Complaint of Old Age ». The others must be classed among his religious works, this may be placed among his miscellaneous. He is

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(1) See my article « The first official Record of Shakespeare's name », in the *Deutsche Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, Berlin, 1895.
Reprinted in pamphlet form at same press. Copy in British Museum.

doubtless aided by his friend Thomas Newton's medical studies, and by his classical reading. He shews how many things in nature can be restored, and revivified, and asks his friends learned in Physic, why their art can do nothing to help old age. « A thousand maladies upon old age depend ».

Courage, activity, mental vigour, mirth, and sports, vanish with youth. The Thebans had a law that any who fell sick after sixty, should be given no physic. Men became crooked through age, white-haired, and blind and cold.

« O flitting youth adieu,
Age makes all things decline,
O too too short a fading floure
Of transitorie time ! »

One passage of this poem is interesting as a sort of foreshadowing of Shakespeare's « seven ages », of George Herbert's « Sweet Rose » and as an illustrative echo of some of the literary efforts of the time, so that it is worth transcribing in extenso.

« The sweet and fragrant rose
now delicate in sight
Within short time all withered is,
and turned as daie to night.
And so likewise of man,
from child to man doth grow ;
From man againe a child becomes
Old Age will have it so.
While that the little Boy
with top and scurge gan plaie
And while the stripling goes to school
his grammar part to say.
While those of further yeares
phylosophie doe reade,
And cull the bloomes of Rhetoricke
and figures finely spread,
While they themselves delighte
in poet's fables vaine ;
And while they range in arguments,
which Logike can maintaine ;
While they the time imploie
to publish matters small,
(Though of no waight) by eloquence
to shew their skill withall.
While like the bee they skip
from bloom to blossome blowne,
And for their purpose sucke the fruit
by sundrie authors sowne.

While they disposed so
by studie to attaine
The knowledge of the liberall arts
no labour doe refraine.
And while that without ende
their troubled braines they beat,
To find out eu'rie facultie
grafted in science 'seat.
While they the Greeke translate
in Latin for to goe,
And Latine into Greeke likewise,
their cunning forth to shew.
While forren toongs they seeke
their knowledge to maintaine,
And feare not to transfret the seas
and Alpes to clime with paine,
While they themselves acquant
with countries that be strange
With forren courts, with things unknown
and other things of change ;
While they thus busie be
stiffe age comes stealing in,
And laies his crutch upon their backs,
and dooth the maistrie win....
Againe, if that those things
which transitorie be ;
Were lost or stolen or burnt with fire,
there is a meane we see ;
The same may be in time
recovered againe :
If thou as poor as Codrus were,
or Irus did remaine ;
Yet hope to be as rich
as Croesus heretofore ;
Or that thy substance and thy wealth
may match with Croesus store :
But as for creeping age,
when Clotho hath begun ;
Upon hir clew thy thred to wind,
that Lachesis had spun,
Can neuer be reuok't
againe to be untwide
By no inchantment, charme und force,
that wit of man can finde.
Not Circe with hir charme
Nor Mercurie with his rod ;
Nor yet Medea with hir drugs
can stay this worke of God. »....

« If Jupiter himself
thy bellie full would fill
With Nectar and Ambrosia
which some of learned skil
Have writ that by such things
Youth still they might maintaine,

And banish old age in exile
for ever to remaine.
No, no, it will not be
though that Aurora faire
Would day by daie thy bodie bathe,
with deaw of heavenly aire ;
No, though ten thousand times
sweet Venus for to please,
Thou paine thyself as Phao did,
to ferry Chyos seas.
No, though Chiron himselfe
should unto thee applie,
All soveraigne hearbs that spring or grow
on earth heueath the skie.
Nothing there is can stop
the course of yeares that slide ;
Nor keepe them from our weary backes
but must the same abide.
Indeed of tales we read
and fables have been told,
How Orpheus and Amphion
with other poets old
Have by their magicke art
made rivers still to staie,
And to returne unto those springs,
backeward another waie.
Diana stopt hir coach,
Phoebus his steeds so staid,
As made his chariot still to stand,
to listen what they said.
Well let these idle tales
Be thought upon no more....
But yet the state of age
that flits awaie so fast ;
And when the summer time thereof
is once consumed and past ;
And that the winter sharpe
with horie frost and cold
Upon the head and withered face
with snow hath taken hold ;
No hope is then at all
for any spring to crie
Nor yet for any Ver to come
where roote and stocke is drie. »

Many unrecorded selections may have appeared separately, which, as I have shown in Chapter 16, really took place in regard to his scriptural poems, but there are no further definite volumes published.

The many editions of the religious works of Hunnis shewed that either they or their author had some special charm for the people. Besides the compliment of purchasing his volumes, his

contemporaries paid him the compliment of imitation, both in style, titles and figures. The honey and honeysuckles which are studiously introduced into his works in reference to his own name, are used in strained methods by other writers. For instance, in the Bodleian Library, bound up with the 1583 edition of « the Seven Sobbes », « the Handful of Hunnisuccles » etc. (1) are similar works by Abraham Fleming (2). « The footepath to Felicitie. A guide to godliness. A swarme of Bees with their Honie and Honicombes, gathered out of the sweete and odoriferous garden of God's word. Henrie Denham, 1581 ». The conclusion runs thus

« Taste of the Honnie
Heere in this hive
If thou wilt learne
To live well and thrive. »

By the same author « A plant of Pleasure, bearing fourteen several flowers called by the names of holy Hymnes and Spiritual Songs, 1581. Henrie Denham ». « The Lamentation of the Lost Sheep » by G. E. 4to. (W. Jaggard 1605).

« A handful of holesome though homely hearbes, gathered out of the goodly garden of God's most holy word, dedicated to all religious ladies, gentlewomen and others, by Anne Wheathill, gent. Henrie Denham ». 1584 12mo. And among others, concerning his other title may be noted, Mrs. Elizabeth Grymeston's « Morning Meditation, with sixteen sobs of a sorrowful spirit ». 1604. 4to.

The only examples of what may be called his « gallant lays » are the two poems which have always been assigned to him, in *England's Helicon*, 1600. Sir Egerton Bridges says of these that « there was no other author to whom they could be attributed, and yet he seemed to have lived too early to be thus prominently illustrated in 1600 ». But the amiable critic did not apparently know, that Hunnis had only died in 1597, and that it was very natural he should have been recalled to remembrance just then.

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(1) See Licence of « An Hive full of Honnye, the garden of the greate goodnesse of God. » Chap. XVI.

(2) Rector of St. Pancras, Soper Lane, London, An Antiquarian writer, who also writes a few religious verses.

It seems almost certain that he would write something at the decease of the Earl of Pembroke in 1569. Besides the « Epitaphe » by Master Edwards and by David Rowland, licenced that year, there were several « allowed » to printers who did not mention the name of their poet.

For instance « To William Gryffyth, A Ballet intituled an epitaphe of the Honourable Erle of Pembroke 4d. ».

« Richard Jonnes, Epitaphe of the Erle of Pembroke 4d. ». « Henry Bynneman for the triumphant of ye grene Dragon made upon the Erle of Pembroke, auctorysed by my Lord of London 4d. ». It is Richard Jones' edition that I would preferably consider likely to have been written by Hunnis.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE EARLIER CHAPEL REVELS.

Sir Thomas Cawarden was the first to secure the patent of the Mastership of the Revels, as an office separate from that of the Tents and Pavilions, which had hitherto been associated with it. His patent is dated 23rd. March 33 Hen. VIII (1545-6). He served through Edward's reign in peace; through Mary's (with intervals of imprisonment arising from suspicions of his loyalty at the time of the conspiracy) (1); and through the first year of Elizabeth. Then he fell, either into disfavour, or into bad health, was displaced, and died at Nonesuch, on the 29th August 1560. The patent of his successor Sir Thomas Benger (2), also once suspected, was dated from 8th Jan. 2 Eliz. 1559-60 (3). The Patent Books give his salary as £26, 13. 4; but he seems also to have had an allowance of £10, a *year*, and 4s a *day* when reforming or arranging plays, and the same amount for night performances (4). There is no definite record of a play at Christmas 1558, when Elizabeth was moving about in preparation for her coronation; but it would seem from the following account there must have been some, and there would be one at her coronation (5). We know that on the 31st Dec. 1559 there was a play performed before the Queen at Whitehall, « in ye whyche ye plaers plaed suche mater yt they were commaunded to leyff off, and contenently the mask cam in daunsing (6) ». In the State papers, (7) 1559 there is a stray page concerning « The Revells

(1) See page 69 and 104. (2) See page 104.

(3) Several other patents follow, concerning his present pension, and the arrearages due him from 5 and 6 Mary.

(4) See Revels' Books. The Treas. of Rec. Unclass. Misc. Fees. No 69. Henry to Eliza. mentions his salary as £ 66, 13. 4.

(5) In the Lord Chamberlain's Books. Ser. I. Fol. I. « The Coronation Expenses », p. 56. « Silk delivered to Sir Thomas Cawerden, Knight, for the use of the Queen's Majesties' Masks & Revels ». The sum was over £ 730.

(6) Cotton MS. Vitellius F. V. Machyn's *Diary*.

(7) *S. P. D. S.* Eliz. 42. 47.

atte Christmas and Shrovetide, Anno 2^do^ Elizabeth » (1). « An estimate of the charges of the maskes and other preparacions for pastymes *to be shewen* in the presence of the Queens Majestie att Christmas and Shrovetide in the seconde yeare of her Majesties reign, 1559». The amount already laid out, the amount necessary to be laid out, are calculated on the lowest possible basis. At the side of this bill is noted « Fower maskes with their torchberer sett forth and shewen before ye Queenes Majestie at Whitehalle on New Yere's day and twelfth day att night, the charges ». At the end of the calculations appear memoranda, touching enough, whether written by the stricken old official retiring, or by his successor taking over the heavy charge, made cautions by the trouble of Cawarden.

« Memor. that the chargis for making of maskes cam never to so little a some as they do this yere, for the same did ever amount (2) as well in the Queen's Hignes' time that nowe is, as at all other tymes heretofore, to the some of £400 always when it was leaste.

Mem. Also that yt may please the Queen's Majestie to appoint some of her Highness' Privy Counsaille immediately after shrovetide yerely to survey the state of the saide office to thintent it may be knowne in what case I found it, and howe it hath been since used.

Mem. Also that the said councillors may have authoritie to appointe such fees of the caste garments as they shal thinke reasonable, and not the Mr. to appoint any theretofore he hath done, for I think it most for the Mrs. safeguarde to be so used ».

Mr. Fleay thinks that Cawarden fell into disgrace because of the unpalatable play that was commenced on 31st. Dec. 1559. He died before then. He also takes it for granted that it was performed by the *children* of the Chapel. There is *no* authority for this (3). The Queen's Interlude *Players* received £6. 13, 4 for

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(1) *S. P. D. S.* E. VII, 50. Some complaint must evidently have been made of the expenditure. This is the only recorded attempt to estimate possible costs.

(2) The debts of Edward VI to the Revels in 1551 were £ 1090. Strype, II. pt. I. 545. There seems to have been a large annual expenditure on theatrical and musical expenses during Mary's reign. A manuscript of the Antiquarian Society for 1553, gives the total as £ 2233. 17. 6

(3) Peck's *Desiderata* states, that « all Christmas plays were performed by the Children of the Chapel », but this is a manifest error, and I think Machyn would have mentioned the fact if they had.

their usual New Year's reward, that season, and there is no reward (1) allowed the *children*. Of course it *might* have been withheld on account of the Queen's displeasure. Therefore it is quite reasonable to discuss the question. Mr. Collier and Mr Fleay point out that Master Bowyer, Master of the children, also fell into disfavour, and was *displaced* as well as Cawarden, for that unlucky play, and believe that the Chapel children were *inhibited* for five years afterwards, because there is no notice of their plays. But lack of record does not give certainty of silence.

Mr. Collier thinks the objectionable play was Albion Knight, which he imagines was condemned, not noting that it was *licensed* for printing, and that it *was printed*.

Mr. Fleay fixes it as *Misogonus*, which he thinks was written by *Richard* Edwards, whom he seems to imagine was set right over Bowyer's head. But the play was commenced in 1559, and Edwards succeeded only after Bowyer's (2) death in 1561. And it is most improbable that the Queen would have taken the first possible opportunity of rewarding Edwards for writing anything which gave cause of offence, without first administering due punishment. Internally the play dates itself as the 24th year after the rising in the North of 1536 = i. e. 1561 or 1562, which cuts out the earlier date.

I also should like to romance a little here. Supposing that the Children of the Chapel acted the play, Master Bowyer would be responsible as there was no Master of the Revels. But he was old, probably somewhat infirm, evidently no *author* himself, and it is more than likely he relied for help on one of his gentlemen. None of these are known to have written plays or interludes before this date, *except* William Hunnis. It is quite probable that he wrote that play and that *he* expected to be chosen Bowyer's successor. None of the Chapel had his varied and peculiar claims for advancement. If it were so, he suffered in the general trouble by finding Richard Edwards, who, however worthy, was a comparative new comer, put over

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(1) Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber, 1559. Pipe Office 541.

(2) See an error in « Cheque Book of the Chapel Royal, ». Stow in his Survey records the date on his tomb at Greenwich, as 1561.

his head ; a man who, though he had written poems, had not apparently written any play before that date. No play from Edward's pen appeared during his first year of office ; but that is no proof that he did not write one (1). It is almost certain that he did so, but his censors, made wise by the castigation of others, may not have passed it. In 1564, in the Prologue to *Damon and Pythias*, he says —

> « No more such sportes to write »....
> « Chaunce hath made this change
> For that to some he seemed too much, in yong desires to raunge,
> In whiche, right glad to please, seyng that he did offende ;
> Of all, he humblie pardon craves, his pen that shall amende ».

He could hardly have referred to *Misogonus* in these words, if they refer to the stopped play of 1559. Neither would he have said « of all », but rather « of the Queen », if he referred to that memorable occasion. Its is quite possible that the Queen's annoyance may have arisen from strong Anti-popish expressions in the 1559 play, and that she checked it, fearing it might *force her hand*. But years afterwards, when circumstances changed, she might forget her ruffled feelings, and forgive her dramatist. It is at least certain that William Hunnis was appointed Master of the Children on the death of Edwards in 1566. From that time plays became the serious business of his life. The Master of the Children had no necessary connection with the Revels, but during the preceding reigns he had helped to amuse his sovereigns by performances, and in the early years of Elizabeth, he was among the leaders of the histrionic art. Though there is no notice of a play in his first Christmas, we are fortunate in possessing an account of the second year of Hunnis.

« To Sir Thomas Benger (2), Master of the Revels, from 14th July, 9 Eliza. to 3rd March, 10 Eliza. for seven plays, one tragedy and six masks ». « Six hundred foure and thirtie poundes nine shillings and five pence, imployed upon these

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(1) We do not know the name of the poet employed by Cecil, to write a mask for the proposed meeting of the Queen of England and Queen of Scotland at Nottingham in 1562. It was utilized for the French Ambassador 1564.

(2) Harl. MS. 146. (15).

playes, tragedyes, and masques following, namely, Imprimis for seven playes, the first named *as playne as can be*, the second *the paynefull pilgrimage* the thyrde *Jacke and Jyll*, the *fourthe sixe fooles*, the fiveth called *Witte and Will* (1) ; the sixth called *prodigalitie*, the seventh of *Oreste*, and a Tragedie of *The King of Scottes* to ye whiche belonged divers howses for the setting forthe of the same, as Stratoes house, Gobbins House, Orestioes house, Rome, the Pallace of Prosperity, Scotlande and a great Castell on th'other side. Lykewise for the altering and newe making of sixe maskes out of old stuffe, with torchbeareres thereunto, whereof four hath byn shewen before us and two remayne unshewen. Whereof our pleasure is, etc. Greenwich 11th June, 10 Eliza. ». Sir Thomas Benger was to receive the money and pay the debt (2).

That this solitary *Tragedy*, *the first recorded* as having been played at Court by the Children of the Chapel, was really presented by Hunnis, is shewn by the Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber (3).

« To William Hunnyes, Mr. of the Children of the Queenes Maiesties Chappell, upon a warrant, dated at Westminster the 3rd of March 1567-8, for presentinge a tragedie before her Majestie this Shrovetide £6. 13. 4 ». It is most probable that he composed it, as well as presented it. The tragedy could hardly have described the death of Darnley, King of Scotland, as that had occurred only on 9th Feb. 1566-1567, but it may have been based on some of the many other tragedies of Scottish Royal History. It might even have been the first draft of the story of Macbeth (4).

Another MS. gives « the Charges in full for the Revells in the Hall uppon Shrove Sonday 10th February, and Shrove Tuesday at night, 12th Feb. 1567 (5) » but this gives no names.

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(1) See Stationer's Registers 7th Sep. 1580 « William Wright tollerated unto him, but not under the Warden's hands, a Book intituled William Witte, Wittes Will, or Will's Witt, cheese you whether, xd. ».

(2) Harl. M.S. 146. f. 15. In the same MS. without names, the expenses for the 11th and 12th year of Elizabeth are given.

(3) Declared Accounts, Treasurer of the Chamber, 1567-8. Pipe Office no. 542.

(4) See my article « The Materials of Macbeth » *Athenæum*. July 31th 1896.

(5) Lansdowne M.S. IX. Art. 58.

The authorship of this play has never been discussed by any writer; and Fleay definitely states that it is not known by whom it was written, or by whom it was *played*. But in the absence of another claimant, we may consider it as probably by Hunnis himself.

I have not been able to find anything clear concerning the next year, but the same Harleian Manuscript (1) gives the expenses without mentioning any names. « From 20th July 1568, till July 1569, there was allowed Sir Thomas Benger £453, 5, 6, for furnishing Playes, Tragedyes and Maskes performed before us at Christmas tide ».

There has been much discussion about Elizabeth's severe laws against common players, and the means by which the better classes of them were allowed to escape the penalties, by becoming servants of some great nobleman. The Earl of Leicester was the first to secure a formal patent for his player-servants, in 1574, but very many companies of players had formed themselves before that date under the nominal protection of certain noblemen who had not thought of securing a patent until Leicester did so. Companies, some even under the name of « the Queen's players » (2), went about the country.

The Queen's old Players of Interludes, seem to have been pensioned and allowed to die off. The later Queen's Company of 1582-3, was of a very different composition (3).

Elizabeth's known fondness for plays was the cause of great perplexity to the Puritanical section of her subjects. There were many contests between the Privy Council, the municipal authorities, the inhabitants of London, and the various companies of players. It is impossible to discuss these here, and they are only alluded to, in order to shew the bearing of a little Puritanical pamphlet, published anonymously in 1569. It indulges in unlimited strictures against the Queen, the Master of her Children, and the Children of the Chapel Royal.

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(1) Harl. MS. 146. f. 51.

(2) « The Queen's Players » received 3s. 4d for playing in Folkestone in 1569, and the Lord Worcester's players 1s. 8d. *Archæologia Cantiana*, Vol. X. Introduction. « Given in reward to the Queen's Majesties Players 1561. 6s. 8d. Faversham. » Nichol's *Progresses* I. 352. See also terminal note.

(3) A selection of men from the various companies in the City.

One copy existed at least down to the 19th century, and is catalogued among the Books of Bishop Tanner in the Bodleian Library, as « The Children of the Chapel stript and whipt ». I went to Oxford on purpose to see it, but found that it had utterly vanished. Fortunately Warton had seen it, and quoted from it, so we know the gist of the anonymous author's admonitions. « Plaies will never be supprest, while her Maiesties unfledged minions flaunte it in silks and sattens. They had as well be at their Popish Service, in the devil's garments ». This is the earliest notice of the Queen's young company of players. From the same pamphlet we learn that the boys were not only allowed to act, but to act plays on *profane subjects* in the Royal Chapel itself. « Even in her Majesties Chappell these pretty upstart youths profane the Lord's Day, by the lascivious writhing of their tender limbs, and gorgeous decking of their apparell in feigning bawdie fables gathered from the idolatrous heathen poets ». The pamphlet appeared three years after the death of Edwards ; but the description might have been intended to refer to his known play, or to the unknown one that he referred to in the Prologue of *Damon and Pythias*. It could hardly be intended to refer to « the Tragedy of the King of Scotts », but Hunnis *might*, even then, be training his boys (1) for later representations of a more doubtful nature, or some other play performed in 1568-9 might have been objectionable.

The Records of the Privy Purse expenses contain many notes of the rewards granted for presenting plays before the Queen, which usually amounted to £6, 13, 4, whether the players were the Chorister Children of any Church or Chapel, or the servants of various noblemen, they seem always to have been put on a pecuniary level with their adult competitors.

The Harleian Manuscript above referred to (2) states that in the same year as the Puritan pamphlet appeared, there was a warrant issued to Sir Thomas Benger to pay what was « due unto certaine creditors for stuffe by them delivered for the furnishing of such plaies, tragedyes and maskes as hath been

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(1) Notices in the Revels' Books shew that later there were halls appointed for rehearsals.

(2) Harl. MS. 146. f. 74. See also Harl. MS. 589 art. 28. f. 166.

shewed before us at Christmas and Shrovetide last past, in the 12th year of our reign, £499. 17. 6 1/2 ». No names are given. But in the account of the Privy expenditure (1) for 1569 we find « To William Hunnis, Mr of the children of her Majesties Chappell, upon the Counsailles Warrant, dated at Windsor, 7 Jan. 1569, by waie of her Highness reward for presenting of a plaie before her Majestie on Twelfe day at night last past, £6, 13, 4 ». From the same source we find in the following year « To William Honeyes, Richard Farrant, and Sebastian Westcott, Mrs of the Children of the Queen's Majesties Chapple Royal, Windsor, and Powles, upon the Councils Warrant, dated ultimo February 1570, for presenting of three playes before her Majestie at this Shrofted last past, namely Sondaie, Monday, and Twesdaie, by waie of her Highness reward £xx ». And in the following year 1571-2 « To William Hunnys, Mr of the Children of the Chapel for presenting a plaie before her Highness on Twelf-daie at nighte laste past, £6, 13, 4, in thole by waie of reward £13. 6. 8 ». In the Acts of the Privy Council we also find records of the warrants. On the meeting of the Council on (2) 12th Jan. 1571-2 was signed a warrant « To *John* Honnys, Master of the Children of her Maiesties Chapel for a play on Twelfth daie at night last past. £6, 13, 4 ». The error in the name is a trifle, yet it has confused some writers, as Malone, who interpolates a John Honys between Richard Bowyer and William Hunnis as Master of the Children. The additional sum comes after the Council's warrant and is probably a reward from the Queen herself. About this important play, for which a double reward was given, we are elsewhere fortunately furnished with some details. We learn its name and cost from « The Revels' Books », which have been preserved from about this date in the Record Office.

There were six plays shewn that season (3). « Lady Barbara,

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(1) Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber 1569-70, Pipe Office 541 and 542.

(2) Sir Robert Lane's men under Laurence Dutton played on St. Stephen's day at night, Richard Farrant, Master af the Children at Windsor on St. John's day at night, Sebastian Westcott, Master of the Children of Pauls on New Years day at night.

(3) The Revels Book. Public Record Office. Cunningham edited it imperfectly for the Shakespeare Society, Professor Feuillerat of Rennes has lately produced it fully & carefully in this Series.

shewen on St. Johns day at night by Sir Robert Lane's men, Effigenia a tragedy, shewen on Innocents day at night by the Children of Powles ; Ajax and Ulysses shewen on New Yeares daie at night by the Children of Wynsor ; *Narscisses* shewen on Twelfth day at night by the *Children of the Chapell* ; Cloridon and Radiaminta showen on Shrove Sunday at nighte by Sir Robert Lane's men ; Paris and Vienna showen on Shrove Tewsdaie at night by the Children of Westminster. All which six playes, being chosen out of many and founde to be the best that then were to be had ; the same also being often perused, and necessarily corrected and amended by all thaforesaid officers ; Then they, being so orderly addressed, were lyckewise thoroughly apparelled, and furnished with sundry kindes and sutes of Apparell and furniture fitted and garnished necessarily and answerable to the matter, person and parte to be played ; Having also apt howses, made of canvasses framed fashioned and painted accordingly as might best serve their several purposes ; Together with sundry properties incident etc. Ed. Buggyn. Clerk Comptroller. T. Blagrave, Clerke, John Arnold, Yeoman ».

The expenses of the whole came to the unusually large sum of £1568, 17, 15 $^1/_2$; and the play of « Narcissus » seems to have caused more than its share of expenditure. The same device seems to have been used as Edwards had tried in *Palamon and Arcite* ; there were real dogs, and a Fox let loose in the Court, but, as it was at night, the hunt would not be seen, so much as heard.

« To John Tryce for money due to him for Leashes and doghookes with staues and other necessaries by him provyded for the hunters that made the crye after the fox (let loose in the Courte) with their hownds hornes and hallowing in the playe of Narscisses, which crye was made of purpose, even as the wordes then in utterance, and the parte then played did requier, for the whiche the same Sir T. Benger also appointed him to give certeyne rewards, the whole amountinge to 21s 8d.

John Izarde for money due to him for his device in counterfeiting Thunder and Lightening in the play of Narscisses, being requested thereunto by the seide Mr of this Office, and for sundry necessaries by him spent therein, in all 22s.

Bernard Fabian, for money due for sundry parcells of his ware, namely, Torches, Links, other lights, Sering Candle, Corde etc. in all as by his bill appered 115s. »

The expenses of the garments were in a separate bill. The story was probably suggested by that of « Narscissus » in « the Romaunt of the Rose », published among Chaucer's works by William Thynne, both in 1532 and 1542 (1).

« Narscissus was a bachelere
That love had caught in his daungere ».

The poem refers to the story in Ovid ; from which it may have been taken directly. It was also versified in Golding's translation of Ovid. The play has not come down to us.

The entries in the Revels' Book are interesting in regard to the discussion as to whether there was or was not *scenery* in the Elizabethan Drama. They shew us the Court plays at least had a good deal of this aid to the imagination, though of course without the delays caused by *scene-shifting*. Apparently Elizabeth had not been content with the result of the attempt at economy in her revels in her early years, and there seems to have been a steady average rise in the expenses, as well as occasional outbursts of extravagance. But when one analyses the accounts, it may be found that Sir Thomas Benger had a good deal to do with his money. For instance in one year, ending Shrove Tuesday 14th Eliz, « for devyzing, providing, preparing, newmaking, translating, repayring, fytting, furnishing, garnishing, setting foorth, attending, well-ordering, taking in again, and safe-bestowing, and safe-keeping, the apparell, and Implements of the saide office, of her Majesties Revelles.... chiefly the apparelling, disguising, fitting, furnishing, and setting forth of sundry men, women, and children in the 6 plays and 6 masks mentioned more at large in the end of this book etc. ».

Among the items of expenses purchased are « Canvas to paint for howses of the players, gloves, septers, wheate sheaves, Bodyes of men in timber, dishes for deuill's eyes, devices for Hell or Hell Mouthe », the latter a curious item, as it suggests

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(1) Thomas Edwards, of the Privy Chamber, wrote a poem of « Narcissus, » published along with his « Cephalus and Procris » in 1595, with a curious reference to « Narcissus in another guise and gayer clothes. ».

that the days of Mystery or Miracle plays had not quite gone by, even in the Queen's private revels, though probably under other modern titles. A more interesting list appears later « To John Carow in his life-time not long before his death £6, and to his wife after his death, in full satisfaction for all the wares by him delivered..... monsters, mountaynes, Forrests, Beasts, Serpents, Weapons...., Mosse, Flowers.... glew, paste.... nayles, hoopes, horsetails, dishes for devill's eyes, Heaven, Hell and the Deuill, and all the Devell, I should saie, but not all, £12, 14, 4. ». The frequent addition of Curtains, increase the probability that there was a considerable amount of make-up in scenery. There was more. There was a healthful reality in Stage-feasts, that is reassuring. « The grocer for confects in the Maske of Wyldemen ; Suger, 43 lb, at 14d a pound, 46s. 5d ; Rosewater, 3 pints, 3s. 6d ; Almons, 20 lb at 14d the lb, 23s. 4d ; Gum tragacanth, 2 oz, 12d ; Quince preserved, 2 lb, 1 qr. 9s ; Wullnutts reddy made, 2 1b, 11s ; Cloves to stick in the peares, 12d ; Synamon and gynger, 3 oz, 14d ; Peares ready-made of Marchpane stuck, 1 lb, 3s ; Apples and lemons of like stuf, the lb 16d ; Marmilade to temp with the sugar, 2s ; A pott for the Quince, 3d ; The hire of a cearse (i. e. a Strainer) 4d, in all 103s. 4d ».

Another entry was for « Flowers wrought in needlework, whereof three were presented to her Majesty, the residue garnished Masker's heads ». These flowers, signifying Victory, Peace and Plenty were presented to the Queen by a gorgeously dressed child representing Mercury.

There is no clear reference in the Revel's Book to a play by Hunnis in 1572-3, though it is quite possible, nay probable, he may have presented one of the six mentioned. It is also probable that he was concerned somehow in the Mask of Apollo and the nine Muses, performed before the Queen and the French Ambassador that summer. He certainly helped to provide the flowers and decorations, see page 137, and one of his poems refers to the Nine Muses in a suggestive manner.

As he always accompanied the Queen on her progresses, it is quite possible that even that summer he assisted the Earl of Leicester at Kenilworth who « provided the Queen there with

such Princely Sports as could be devised » (1). August 1572.

There is no mention of Hunnis in the Revel's Book for 1573-4, but Chalmers and Malone state « among the Council Register Notes on Jan. 6, 1573 » there occurs « To John Honyes for the Chapel Children for a play £6, 13, 4. ». This does not appear in the printed copy, which definitely states that there is a gap in the records from autumn until February, but there are so many gaps in the records of known warrants, that we need not on that account take it as conclusive proof that it was not granted (2). Mr. Fleay thinks it may have been the « Play of Fortune » or that of « Theagenes and Chariclea » ; two plays performed that year, but without definite attribution to any company. In the Revels Book is granted « To Robert Barr, for drawing patterns for the Playe of Fortune, and altering the same, 6s. 8d. ».

« Two speares for the play of Cariclea », « an awlter for Theagenes », and charge for « the carriage of the awlter », give the only clues we have as to either of these performances.

« The play of Fortune (3) » cannot be the same as that licenced to Purfoote in 1566, or it would not, as a printed play, have been performed before the Queen. Some consider Purfoote's publication allied to, or the same as, a play called « Common Conditions (4) ». I do not think that any association has however been proved. I am inclined myself to think that Purfoote's, was only a Fortune-telling book, such as there was known to be at the time, and the word « play », used in the sense of the « game ». It is more probable that the Court « play of Fortune » was based on Sir Thomas More's Poem of the Lady Fortune. « Theagenes and Chariclea » has been supposed

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(1) See *The Black Book of Warwick*, pp. 65, 70, also Nichol's *Royal Progresses*. Dugdale's *Warwickshire*.

(2) The winter was an exceptionally cold one, and Christmas was held at Hampton Court ; and the Revels Book mentions the expense of 6s. 6d. when « nine of the Children landed at Blackfriars Bridge, for fire and food, for they were cold and sick and hungry. »

(3) « Fortune, a play to know eche one hyr condicions, at to gentle manors, as well of women as of men etc. 1111. »

(4) « July 26. 1576 licensed to John Hunter « A new and pleasant comedie or plaie, after the manner of « Common Conditions. »

to be the same as the Queen of Ethiopia (1), acted by Lord C. Howard's men at Bristol, Sept. 1578, says Mr. Fleay.

Among other properties mentioned, in the Revel's Book is « A monster in which Benbow played ». As Benbow was a gentleman of the Chapel, it is probable, though not certain that he was acting with Hunnis.

In 1574, the master was busy. « To William (2) Hunnys, Mr. of the Children of her Maties Chapell, for XX^tie quire and a haulf of papier ryall, at 2s the quier, XLs ; for bynding the same into 17 books, whereof 14 at 2s. 6. the pece, and three at 20d the pece, 40s, and for wrytnge and pricking 210 shetes in the sayd 17 bookes at 12d a sheete, £11, 10, in all, by her Majesties especiall order, declared by a bill, signed by the Lord Chamberlain £15, 11, 6 ».

This might of course have referred to a new set of Chapel-books ; but there is some room for consideration, whether this may not have been on account of the preliminary composition of the music, for « the Lady of the Lake », in the Kenilworth festivities, or whether it concerns the play alluded to in the same Roll : « To William Hunneyes, Mr. of the Children of her Maties Chappell, the some of XX^tie marks upon the counselles warrant dated at Richmond 17th Feb. 1574, by way of her Majesty's guifte for presenting of a playe before her Highness upon Shrove Sondaie the last past, the some of £13, 6, 8. ».

This seems to have been, another play of the nature of « Narcissus », highly appreciated at Court, as is shewn by the Queen's reward being again double. It may however have been acted in two parts, as Edward's « Palamon and Arcite » was at Oxford. The declared accounts refer to it as one play. Some of the expenses are classified out in the Revel's Book.

« 1st. Feb. 1574. Holly, Ivie, firr poles and mosse for the Rock in Mr. Hunneyes play xs., Hornes, 3, Collers, 3, Leashes, 3, and doghookes, 3, wlth bawdricks for the hornes in Hunnyes play XS. 13th February. Cariage of timber for the same Mr.

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(1) In the British Museum, Manuscript department, is a late rendering of the story by the latter name, « the Queen of Ethiopia », in a style impossible to have been merely a redaction of a 16th century drama. The characters are Theagines and Chariclea.

Hunnyes his playes down to the waterside, 2s, 6d, (13th February being Shrove Sunday). To Lam (1) for the Frenchwomans's dynner that went with the heares to dress the children's heads in Mr. Hunyes his playe, and for pynnes and Botehier, 2s, 2d.

To the Frenchwoman for her paynes and her daughter's paynes that went to Richmond and there attended upon Mr. Hunyes his children and dressed their heads etc. when they played before her Majesty. 23s. 6d.

The hire of heares and for rewards 23s, 6 » (At the side).

Five months later the Court was in Warwickshire, and the Earl of Leicester was preparing for the great entertainment that has become historical ; and William Hunnis, under his auspices, was completing his design for the greatest pageant of the Sixteenth Century.

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(1) There is a gap in the Revel's Book between 13th Feb. 1574, and 11th March, 1575. Is this « Lam, » the Master William Lambe, gentleman of the Chapel to Hen. VIII, and clothworker of London, who died 21st April, 1580? See page 17.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE KENILWORTH FESTIVITIES.

It was the custom, as we have seen, for the Master with the Children of the Chapel to accompany the sovereign on Royal Progresses, therefore it is not surprising to find Hunnis in the Royal train at Kenilworth. But it is somewhat significant that he should have been appointed to play the rôle he did. It was he as « Sybil », that welcomed the Queen to her favourite Demesne ; it was his device of « The Lady of the Lake », that certainly stimulated the eloquence of Laneham, and seems to have kindled the enthusiasm of young Shakespeare. Besides the ordinary short notices of chroniclers there are two comparatively full accounts of the entertainment, one by George Gascoigne, a rival poet present, actively engaged in the preparations, and the other by Robert Laneham, the Clerk of the Council Chamber door, and Keeper of the same. Gascoigne's account was published the following year, and entitled (1), « The princely pleasures of the Courte at Kenelworthe, that is to saye, the Copies of all such verses, proses, or Poeticall inventions, and other devises of Pleasure as were there devised and presented by sundrie gentlemen before the Queen's Majestie in the year 1575. Imprinted at London by Richard Jhones, and are to be solde without Newgate, over against Saint Sepulchre's Church, 1576 ».

The printer seems to take the credit of the idea to himself in his Preface. « The printer to the reader. Being advertised (gentle reader) that in this last progresse, hir Majestie was (by the Ryght Noble Earl of Leycester) honorably and triumphantly receyved and entertained at his Castle of Kenilworth and that

(1) This is strangely rendered by some writers, as if « The Princely Pleasures of Kenilworth » were the name of the device Gascoigne performed there.

sundry pleasaunt and Poeticall inventions were there expressed as well in verse as in prose. All which have been sundrie tymes demanded for, as well at my handes, as also of other printers, for that, indeede, all studious and well disposed young gentlemen and others were desyrous to be partakers of those pleasures by a profitable publication. I thought meete to trye by all meanes possible if I might recover the true copies of the same, to gratifye all such as had required them at my handes or might hereafter, bee styrred with the like desire. And in fine, I have with much travayle and paine obtayned the very true and perfect copies of all that were there presented and executed ; over and besides, one moral and gallant Deuyce, which never came to execution (1), though it were often in a readinesse. 26th March, 1576 ».

Gascoigne begins, « A briefe rehearsal, or rather a true copie of as much as was presented before her Majestie at Kenilworth, during her last abode there, as followeth;

Her Majesty came there as I remember, on Saturday, the ninth of July last past. Somewhat neere the Castle, Sybilla who prophesied unto her Highnesse the prosperous raigne that she should continue in verses. This device was invented, and the verses also written by M. Hunneyes, Master of her Majesties Chapell. The order thereof was this, Sybilla being placed in an arbour in the Parke neer the highway where the Queen's Majestie came, did step out and pronounced as followeth ; —

« All hayle, all hayle, thrice happy Prince ; I am Sibella she
Of future chance and after happ, foreshadowing what shall be,
As nowe the dewe of heavenly gifts full thick on you doeth fall
Even so shall vertue more and more augment your yeares withall
The rage of war, bound fast in chains shall never stir ne move
But peace shall gouerne all your daies, increasing subjects loue.
You shall be called the Prince of Peace, and Peace shall be your shield
So that your eyes shall never see the broyles of bloody field,
If perfect peace then glad your minde, he joyes above the rest.
Which doth receive into his house, so good and sweete a gueste.
And one thing more I shall foretell, as by my skill I know
Your comming is rejoiced at, tenne thousand times and mo,
And whiles your Highness here abides, nothing shall rest unsought,
That may bring pleasure to your mind, or queyt to your thought
And so, passe forth in peace, O prince of high and worthy praise
The God that governs all in all, encrease your happy days ».

(1) This is Gascoigne's own Device.

The next thing that was presented before her Majestie was the deliverie of the Lady of the Lake, whereof the summe was this ; — Tryton in likenesse of a Mermaide came towards the Queen's Majestie as she passed over the Bridge, returning from hunting, and to her declared that Neptune had sent him to her Highnes, to declare the wofull distresse wherein the poore Ladie of the Lake did remaine ; the cause whereof was this ; Sir Bruse sauns pitiee in revenge of his cosen Merlyne the Prophet, whom for his inordinate lust, she had inclosed in a rocke, did continuallie pursue the Ladie of the Lake, and had long sithens surprised her, but that Neptune, pitying her distress, had envyrouned her with waves ; whereupon, she was enforced to live alwaies in that poole and was thereby called the Ladie of the Lake. Furthermore affirming, that, by Merlyne's prophecie it seemed she coulde never be delivered ; but by the presence of a better maide than herselfe. Wherefore Neptune had sent him right humbly to beseech her Majestie that she would no more but shew herselfe, and it should be sufficient to make Sir Bruse withdraw his forces. Furthermore commanding both the Waves to be calme, and the fishes to give their attendance. And this he expressed in verse as followeth ; —

The speech of the Tryton to the Queen's Majestie.

« Muse not at all, most mightie Prince,
though on this lake you see,
Me Triton floate, that in salt seas
among the Gods should be
For looke what Neptune doth commaund
of Triton is obeyde ;
And nowe in charge, I am to guyde
your poor distressed mayde,
Who when your Highnesse hither came
dyd humblie yeeld her Lake,
And to attende upon your Court
did loyall promise make »....

Triton explains the devices of Sir Bruse sans pitié and the charm of her Majesty's presence

« Herewith Triton soundeth his Trompe and spake to the winds and waters and fishes as followeth ; —

You winds retourne into your Caves
and silent there remaine ;
You waters wild suppresse your waves
and keep you calme and plaine.
You fishes all and each thing else
that here have any sway.
I charge you all in Neptune's name,
you keepe you at a stay
Untill such time this puissant prince,
Sir Bruse hath put to flight,
And that the maide released be
by Soveraigne Maiden's might ».

This speach being ended, her Maiestie proceeded further upon the bridge, and the Ladie of the Lake, (attended with her two nymphes) came to her uppon heapes of Bulrushes according to this former devise », and rendered thanks. From thence her Maiestie passing yet further on the Brydge, Protheus (1) appeared, sitting on a Dolphin's backe. And the Dolphin was conveyed upon a Boate so that the Owers seemed to be his Fynnes. Within the which Dolphyn a Consort of Musicke was secretely placed, the which sounded, and Protheus, clearing his voyce, sang this song of congratulation as well in the behalf of the Lady distressed, as also in the behalfe of all the nymphes and Gods of the sea.

The song of Protheus.

O noble Queen give eare
to this my floating muse,
And let the right of readie will,
my little skill excuse.
For heardmen of the seas
Sing not the sweetest notes,
The windes and waves do roare and crie
Where Phoebus seldome floates ».

This song being ended, Protheus tolde the Queen's Maiestie a pleasaunt tale of his deliverie, and the Fishes which hee had always in charge. The deuise of the Ladie of the Lake also was *Master Hunnes*; and surely if it had been executed according to the first invention it had been a gallant shewe ; for it was first deuised that, two dayes before the Ladie of the Lake's

(1) Gascoigne mistakes, it should have been Arion.

deliuerie, a captaine with twentye or thirtye shotte shoulde have bene sent from the Hearon House (which represented the Ladie of the Lake's Castell), upon heapes of Bulrushes ; and that Syr Bruse shewing a great power upon the land should have sent out as many or moe shot to surprise the sayde Captayn, and so they should have skirmished upon the waters in such sort that no man coulde perceive but that they went upon the waves ; at last (Syr Bruse his men being put to flight) the Captain should have come to her Majestie at the Castell Window, and have declared more plainly the distress of his mistresse and the cause that she came not to the Court according to duetie and promise, to give hyr attendance, and that thereupon he should have besought hyr Majestie to succour his mistresse, the rather that Merlin had prophecied that she should never be delivered but by the presence of a better maide than herself. This had not only bene a more apt introduction to her deliverie, but also the skirmish by night, woulde have bene both very strange and gallant; and thereupon her Majestie might have taken good occasion to have gone in her barge upon the water, for the better executing her deliverie. The verses, as I thinke were penned some by *Master Hunnes*, some by *Master Ferrers*, and some by *Master Goldingham* ». Goldingham wrote those he sang himself, as Arion. Sir Roger L'Estrange has a story that he threw off his mask as he finished and said « Indeed I am no Arion, but plain Harry Goldingham », which blunt discovery rather amused the Queen, but as it is not told by the contemporary narrators, we may take it, that the discovery was « after the Opera was over ». He would not have risked offending Leicester by spoiling the device, and concentrating attention on himself at the time. Gascoigne's great masque was not performed, at least on that occasion, though everything was in readiness for its performance three separate times. The weather, which altered the plans of both host and guest, seems to have been the cause each time. That William Hunnis took the first place and the chief place in the preparation and representation of the devices is shewn not only by Gascoigne's pamphlet properly read, but by a second authority.

« Robert Laneham's letter » to his friend Master Humphrey

Martin, treats the festivities in a gossippy way (1). It does not name the author, but praises the performance in much less measured terms than did Gascoigne, whose heart must have been sore at the bad fortune of his own endeavours. « My Lord the Earl of Leycester, of whose incomparable cheeryng and entertaynment thear untoo her Maiesty noow, I will shew yoo a part heer ». After a long preamble, he proceeds, « On Saterday the nynth of July at Long Itchington, a town and Lordship of my Lords, hiz honor made her Maiesty great cheer at Dinner, and pleasaunt pastime in hunting by the way after, that it was eight a clock in the evening ear her highness came to Killingworth. Whear in the Park, about a flight shot from the first gate, one of the ten Sibills, that (wee reed) wer all Fatidicae and Theobulae (as parties and privy too the Gods gracious good wils) cumly clad in a pall of white silk, pronounced a proper poesi in English rhyme and meeter. This her Maiestie beningly accepting, passed through forth unto the next gate ». « Then her Majesty riding to the Inner Gate was received by the Lady of the Lake with a well penned meeter and matter ». « She had kept the Lake since King Arthur's days but offered it up to her Highness ». « It pleased her Highness to thank this Lady and too ad withall me thought indeed the Lake had been ours, and doo you call it yourz noow? Wel we will heerin commun more with yoo hereafter (2) ».

« This Pageant was clozed up with a delectable harmony of Haut Boys, Shalmz, Cornets and such oother looud musik ». The Queen then passed over a fair Bridge 20 feet wide, with pillars on either side. On the first pair of posts were cages of wild Birds, from Sylvanus. On the second payr, great silvered Bowls with fruits from Pomona, the third pair, wheat, Barley, Oats, Beans and Peas, as gifts of Ceres. The fourth pair had grapes and vine leaves, and wine pots as gifts from Bacchus. The fifth pair, trays with grass and fresh fish as gifts from

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(1) He tells us a good many little details, such as that on the left arm of the lake there was « a fayr tymbered bridge, that is of 14 feet wide and a six hundred foot long ».

It is very probable he was the brother of John Laneham, one of Leicester's original company of players.

(2) Doubtless the Queen said this to make Leicester feel just a little uneasy.

Neptune. On the sixth payr arms, on a ragged staff, as the gifts from Mars. The seventh pair had musical instruments, as the gifts from Phoebus, God of Music and Physic. Over the Castle gate was a scroll describing these, but as it was dark, a Poet, finely dressed, read the verses from a scroll in his hand, and the Queen was much pleased.

Sunday morning was quiet, the afternoon was spent in music and dauncing of Lords and Ladies.

« Monday 11th July, the Queen went abroad at five to hunt a Hart, and at her return, a *dainty device* (1) of Gascoigne's with the Echo was performed. « On Tuesday there was music and dancing, the Queen walked in the Chace, and went on the Lake to hear delectable music ». Threatened showers put off some of the masks and shortened others. At the Ambrosiall Banquet, « was appoynted a mask for riches of aray of an incredibil cost ; but the time so far spent, and very late in the night noow was caus that it cam not forth to the sheeaw ». This was probably the preliminary skirmish on the water, between the Lady of the Lake's men and Sir Bruse and his men, designed by Hunnis as an introduction to his great device ; as mentioned by Gascoigne.

Monday 18th July, the Queen went abroad about 5 to hunt, and returning « cam thear upon a swinning Mermayd, (that from top too tail was an eighteen foot long) a Triton, Neptune's Blaster, who with his trumpet gave soond in sign that he had an embassy to perform. Anon her Highness was comen upon the Bridge whearunto he made his fish to swim the swifter and he then declared how the supreme (2) salispotent monarch Neptune, the great god of the swelling seas, Prins of profundities, and Sooverain Segnior of all Lakes, freshwaters, Rivers, Creekes, and goolphs ; understanding how a cruel Knight, one Syr Bruse Sans Pitié (3), a mortal enemy untoo Ladiez of estate had long lyen about the banks of this pooll, in wait with his bands here to distress the Lady of the Lake, whearby she

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(1) The phrase becomes perpetuated the following year in the *Paradise of Dainty Devices*.

(2) Suggestive of Euphuism before Lylly had begun to write.

(3) The story of Sir Bruse sans pitié was taken from Sir Thomas Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*.

hath been restrayned, not only from having any use of her ancient liberty and territoriez in theez parts, but also of making repayr and giving attendance unto yoo, noble Queen (quod he) az she woold, shee promist, and allso should, dooth thearfore signify; and heerto, of yoo, az of hiz good leag, and deer friend make this request, that ye will deyn but to sheaw yoor parson toward this pool, whearby yoor only prezens shall be matter sufficient of abandoning this uncurtess Knight, and putting all his bands too flight, and also of deliverauns of the Lady oout of this thralldom ». « Mooving herewith from the Bridge, and fleeting more into the pool, chargeth he in Neptune's name both Eolus with all his windez, the waters with hiz springs, his fish and fooul, and all his clients in the same, that they ne be so hardye in any fors too stur, but keep them calm and quiet while this Queen be prezent. At which petition her highness staying, it appeerd straight hoow Syr Bruse became unseen, his bands skaled, and the Lady by and by, with her too nymphs, floting upon her moovable Ilands (Triton on hiz Mermaid skimming by) approched toward her highnes on the bridge, az well too declare that her Maiesties prezens hath so graciously thus wrought her deliverauns, as also to exscuse her not comming to coourt as she promist, and cheefly to prezent her Maiesty (as a token of her duty and good hart) for her highness recreation, with this gift, which was Arion, that excellent and famouz Musicien, in tyre and appointment, straunge well seeming too hiz parson, ryding alofte upon hiz old freend the Dolphin (that from hed to tayl waz a four and twenty feet long) and swymed hard by theez islands. Heerwith Arion, for theez great benefitez, after a feaw well coouched words unto Her Maiesty of thanksgiving, in supplement of the same, beegan a delectable ditty of a song wel apted too a melodious noiz compoounded of six severall instruments all coovert, casting soound from the Dolphin's belly within ; Arion, the seaventh, sitting thus singing (as I say) withoout. Noow Syr, the ditty in miter so aptly endighted to the matter, and after by voys so deliciously delivered ; the song, by a skilful artist intoo his parts so sweetly sorted, each part in hiz instrument so clean and sharpely toouched, every instrument again in hiz kind so excellently tunable; and this in the evening of the day, resoun-

ding from the callm waters; whear prezens of her Maiesty, and longing too listen, had utterly damped all noyz and dyn ; the hole armony conveyed in tyme, tune, and temper, thus incomparably melodious, with what pleazure (Master Martin) with what sharpnes of conceyt, with what lyvely delighte, this moought pears into the heerers harts, I pray ye imagine yourself as ye may ; for, so judge me, by all the wit and cunning I have, I cannot express, I promiss you. *Mais ieo bien vieu cela, Monseur, que forte grande est la pouvoyr qu'avoit la tres noble Science de Musique sur les esprites humains*, perceive ye me ? I have told ye a great matter noow. As for me, surely I was lulled in such liking and so loth too leave of, that moch a doo, a good while after had I, to fynde me whear I waz. And take ye this by the way, that for the smal skyl in muzyk, that God hath sent me (ye kno it is sumwhat) ile set the more by my self while my name is Laneham, and grace a God.

A ! Muzik is a nobl Art ! »

On Tuesday came the Coventry men for the Hock-Tuesday play of the Danes, Wednesdav was intended to have been spent in Wedgnock Park, « and a faire device of godessez (1) and nymphs would have been displayed » but the Queen did not go abroad, everything was countermanded, and there was a great talk of removing. The Queen stayed till 27th July at Kenilworth, but Laneham took little note of the remaining shews. He explains one point. « Elizabeth » in Hebrew meant « Seventh of God », hence she came in the seventh month, had seven presents from seven gods ; « and with the melody, ther were seaven sorted muziks in the Dollphin, the Lake Ladiez gyft ». After a good deal of moralizing and self-characterization, Laneham suggests that his friend may wonder at his knowledge of Latin, so he describes his education up to the fifth form, « Past Esop's fables ywis, red Terens and Virgill ». He wound up with his titles, « Mercer, Merchantaventurer, and Clark of the Council Chamber Door, and also Keeper of the same ». « From the coourt At the citie of Worceter the xx August 1575 » (2).

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(1) This was the unfortunate device of Gascoigne's.

(2) There was also a publication of this by Messrs. Merriden, edited by William Hamper and Thomas Sharpe 1821. And there is the Shakespeare Society edition.

Nichols tells us there were two copies of Laneham's Letter published in small octavo Blackletter, nearly the same, but of different editions, both undated, 89 pages, and frequently reprinted.

Laneham's enthusiasm gives a reason for Shakespeare's words, if it can be believed that he too was present as a boy at Kenilworth, and also carried away by the enchantment of the scene.

For « The Midsummer Night's Dream », with its phantasmagoria, and interwoven plays within plays is supposed to have been suggested by these entertainments (1), and Leicester's open courtship, is believed to be alluded to when Puck took « a certain aim At a fair vestal throned by the west », Act II. Sc. 2, line 96-105. One can imagine that, gathering round the Kenilworth lake, so graphically described by Laneham, were the neighbours from far round. Because there the general excitement was at its greatest, all crushing forward to listen in awed silence, to the seven-part music. Thus Oberon,

« Sat upon a promontory,.....
And heard a Mearemaid on a Dolphin's back,
Uttering such dulcet and harmonious breath,
That the rude sea grewe civill at her song
And certain starres shot madly from their Spheres
To heare the sea-maid's Music », Act. II. 2 (line 90-5).

The mixture of Mermaid and Dolphin is excusable in Shakespeare, when we find even Gascoigne, who described the scene almost at the time, say that it was Proteus on the Dolphin's back ; now Triton was on the Mermaid, and Arion on the Dolphin, yet Gascoigne knew the story well. So did Shakespeare. He notes in Twelfth Night, Act. I. Sc. 2 :

« a strong mast that lived upon the sea,
Where like Arion on the Dolphin's back
I saw him hold acquaintance with the waves ».

Another piece presented before the Queen refers to it, the

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(1) Roger Ascham wrote to Sturmius in 1562. « That the Queen resembled Hyppolite and not Phaedra, (the two wives of Theseus) ». There is no doubt that references to the warlike and chaste Hippolita would be grateful to the Queen.

Dialogue between the Squire, Proteus, Amphitrite and Thamesis ; —

« More then that famous old received story
Of good Arion by the Dolphin saved » (1).

Nichols describes, « The Entertainment of the Queen at this visit, of which the splendour far exceeded what had anywhere else been given. The Earl of Leicester exerted his whole munificence in a manner so splendid as to claim a remembrance, even in the Annals of our country ».

« The Deities introduced in the compliments at Kenilworth were those of the waters, the most artful panegyric on the naval glory of this reign, and the most grateful respresentation to the Queen of the Ocean (2), as Elizabeth was then called » D. XXV. It may be noted that all the water deities appear in the device of Hunnis.

Gascoigne's one device was « Echo », and the great one which did not appear, concerned nymphs and goddesses, in their relation to Zabeta, or Elizabeth. It is to be hoped that Gascoigne had another opportunity of displaying this, as the pictorial effect of the grouping would have been probably fine, and the prepared compliments were elaborate. But poor Gascoigne's « Luck was loss » on that occasion as at other times, though Leicester did what he could for him, and gave him the chance of bidding farewell to the Queen as « Sylvanus », in whose speech he recommended her host under the name of « Deep-Desire ». Gascoigne signs his description by the phrase, « *Tam Marti, quam Mercurio.* »

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(1) Harl. MS. 541. f. 146.

(2) Under date 1561, in his Annals, Camden says « Strangers name her Maiestie « The Queen of the Sea », « The North Star », « The Restorer of Naval Glory » ».

CHAPTER XX.

THE LATER CHAPEL REVELS.

Many things happened before another play by Hunnis was clearly described. « Mutius Scaevola » (1), it is true, was « showen at Hampton Court on Twelfth day at night 1575-6 », by the Children of the Chapel, in association with those of Windsor Chapel, but the play was set on by Richard Farrant, Master of Windsor, and was probably written by him.

In 1576 the Earl of Essex died (2), poisoned they say, and little Robin Hunnis suffered much from the tasting. The Paradise of Dainty Devices (3) was brought out, with many specimens of Hunnis's style.

There is a gap in the Revels' Book between 21st Feb. 1576, and 14th Feb. 1577. But the Register of Privy Council notes a warrant having been signed on 20th Jan. 1576-7 for payment for four plays by the Earl of Warwick's men, the Earl of Leicester's men, the Children of the Chapel Royal, and the Children of Paules, £6. 13. 4, each for a play, and, with the Reward, £10 in all, for each.

In 1577 the Hive full of Hunnye (4) was being completed. In that same year Jan. 20, 1577-8 there was entered payment for a play at Christmas by the Chapel Children, on St. John's day at night, i. e. 27th Dec. 1577, before the Queen at Richmond entitled « The Historie of..... ». The Clerk either forgot the name, or how to spell it, and the gap has never been filled, from any other source.

But in the Revels' expenses (5) we find « Boate hier to and from the Court to carry the Children of the Chapell to recite

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(1) See Revels Book 1213, nº 5, Audit Office. P. R. O. 1575-6 to 1576-7.
(2) See page 175.
(3) See page 181.
(4) See page 200.
(5) Revels' Book 1213. Nº 6, Audit Office. P. R. O.

before my Lord Chamberleyne ». « For tape occupied when the children of the Chapel played before the Queen ». It is added, « They were fitted from this office with verie many things aptly fitted for the same ».

On the 24th Dec. 1578, the Privy Council determined that the Master of the Revels, should, with other two gentlemen to be appointed, require the Lord Mayor to suffer the playing within the City of certain companies, among which the Children of the Chapel were named, because they were to play before the Queen at Christmas, and required practice.

The Chapel Children played that season, 1578-9, « The Historie of Loyaltie and Bewtie (1), shewn at Whitehall on Shrove Monday at night enacted by the children of the Queen's Maiesties Chapell, furnished in this Office with verie manie riche garments, and properties aptly fitted for the same ».

« For an iron for the Wagon that served in the Plaie of Loyaltie and Bewtie 2s. VId, for mending the scaling ladder that served at the rock, 8d ; for nayles of sundry sorts used about the Clowde, and for drawing it up and down 6s. 8d ; gloves for the Children of the Chapell, 18 paire 10s. A garland of grapes and leaves for Baccus and another of Roses for.... used in the play of Loyaltie and Bewtie » 2s. 4d. « To Roger Atkinson for carrying stuffe that served the Children of the Queen's Chapell &c. ».

The Acts of the Privy Council are in error again here, concerning the warrant for this play; they grant it to « Richard Farrant, master of the Children of the Chapel, for a play before the Queen on Shrove Monday 2nd March ». Richard Farrant was Master of the Children of Windsor, not of the Chapel Royal.

Between 1st November 1579, and 1st Nov. 1580, there was « A history of Alucius shewed at Whitehall on St. John's daie at nighte (27th Dec. 1579) enacted by the Children of her Majestie's Chapell, wholly furnyshed in this offyce with many garments new made, many altered and translated, whereon was imployed for Head Attyres, sleeves, canyons, cases for

(1) Revels Book. 1213, nº 6. Audit Office P. R. O. The title recals that of an Interlude by Cornish, « The triumph of Love and Bewtie ». 1515.

Hoase, Skarfes, garters and other reparacions, tenne elles of Sarcenet, a Cittie, a Battlement, and 18 paires of gloves » (1).

In the Privy expenses appears « Paid the Master and the Children of the Chapel, £6. 13. 4, and by way of reward £3. 6. 8, in all the some of £10 », 25th Jan. 1579-80. This is duly entered in the Council Register.

In the following season 1580-1, the Revels' Book gives « A Storie of.... enacted on Shrove Sondaie at night by the Children of the Queen's Majesties Chapell, wherein was imployed 17 new sutes of apparell, 2 newe hats of velvet, 20 ells of single sarcenet for facings, bandes, scarfes, and girdles, one citty, one pallace, and 18 paires of gloves ». The warrant is recorded in the Acts of the Privy Council, and the Treasurer of the Chamber gave « To the Mr of the Children of the Chapell, upon the Counsailles Warrant dated at Whitehalle 14th Feb. 1580, for presenting a play before her Majesty at Whitehawle upon Shrove Sonday at night last past, £6. 13. 4, and by way of rewarde for their attendance otherwise £3. 6. 8, in all £10 ».

We must not forget the excitement in the metropolis during this year. The French Duke, Elizabeth's suitor was attempting to prosecute his suit in earnest ; and there was a great masque planned. « The Earle of Arundell, Lord Windsor, Master Philip Sydney, and Master Fulke Greville, the four foster-children of Desire, made their invention of the aforesayd triumph of « The Castle or Fortresse of Perfect Beautie ». They sent their challenge or first defiance to the Queen's Majestie which was uttered by a boy on Sunday, the sixteenth of April last, as her Majesty came from the Chappell, who, being apparelled in red and white as a martial messenger of Desire's foster-children declared that upon the 24th day of April they would besiege that Fortresse. The challenge by the Queen's command was delayed until the 1st of May, and then to the 8th of May, and then to Whitson Monday. The boy accompanied by cornets summoned the Forteresse with this delectable (2) song « Yeeld, yeeld, oh yeeld, you that this post doo hold », and another boy answered,

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(1) Ibid, nº 7.

(2) Holinshed's Chronicle, under 1581. These singing boys were probably from the Chapel Royal. See also Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*. Vol. II.

« Alarme, alarme, here will no yeelding bee ».

There were two canons fired off, one with sweet powder, and the other with sweet waters. The scaling ladders were made of flowers. Then the defendants came in and tilted.

Mounseer came over in the winter, 1st November 1581, when there was a Banqueting House made for him, 1st Jan. and stayed till 1st. Feb. 1581, which cost £1500. Stow says it was for the Ambassadors (p. 688).

« The manner (1) and charge of making the great Banketing House at Whitehall at the entertaynment of Mounsere by Queen Elizabeth 1581.

It was made in manner and forme of a long square, 332 foot in measure about; 30 great masts 40 feet long, standing upright, ten feet asunder. The sides of the house were made of canvas painted all over with work called rustick work, being like unto stone. It had 292 lights of glass, and banks of degrees made for men and women to stand on. There were works with pendants of Ivy and Holly upon Wickerwork cunningly wrought garnished with Baies, Rue, and all manner of strange flowers, and hanging garlands of holly, Ivie, and all manner of fruit, as pomegranates, oranges, pompions, cowcombers, grapes, carrotes, pears, with other like, and garnished with spatches of gold. Between there were spaces of canvas cunningly painted with cloudes and starres and sunbeams. It was begun on Easter day, 24th March at 8 in the morning and was finished in 3 weeks. It cost £1744 19s. and 2 $^1/_2$ ». Whitsonday was the 14th of May and the jousts (2) were on the Monday and Tuesday next following.

On the 1st of April 1582, the Privy Council granted a warrant to the Treasurer to pay to the Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal for 2 plays, one presented on the last of December, and the other on Shrove Tuesday, 20 marks, and 20 nobles as reward. It is unusual to find so long an interval between the performance and the warrant. The payment is made next day

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(1) Harl. MS. 293. f. 217.

(2) « 1st July 1581. Robert Waldegrave, Tollerated unto him by the Wardens The Tryumphe shewed before the Queen and the French ambassadors ». 6d. Stat. Reg. See also Dec. Acc. Audit Office 2045. 7.

by Sir Thomas Henneage (1). « To the Master of the Children upon the Counsel's Warrant, dated at Greenwich, 1st April 1582, for two plaies, thone presented before her Majestie on the laste day of December, and thother on Shrove Tuesdaie, the some of 20 marks, and by way of her Majesties speciall reward, 20 nobles, in all £20 » 2nd April.

These are not mentioned by name in the Revels Book.

In the reckoning for 24 and 25 Eliz., there is entered « A Commodie or Morral devised on A game of the Cards, shewed on St. Stephen's Daie at night before her Majestie at Wyndsor, (26th December 1582) by the Children of her Majesties Chapell, furnished with many things within this Office, whereof some were translated, some newe made and imployed therein, viz. Twoe Clothes of Canvas, 20 elles of Sarcenet, for 4 pavilions, and girdles for the Boyes, and 18 paire of gloves ».

The treasurer of the chamber paid « To William Hunnyes Mr. of the Children of the Queen's Majesties Chapell, upon the Council's Warrant dated at Richmond 17th Feb. 1582-3, for presenting of a play before her Majestie with the saide Children on St. Stevens daie laste paste at Windsor £6. 13. 4, and by way of rewarde towards their charges and preparations, £3. 6. 4, in all £10 ».

This is the last recorded play of Hunnis (2) and there are some noteworthy points concerning it. Sir John Harrington wrote in 1591 (3), « Then for comedies, to speake of a London Comedie, how much good matter, yea, and matter of state, is there in that Comedie cald the Play of the Cards in which it is shewed how foure Parasiticall Knaves robbe the foure principall vocations of the realme, videlicet the vocation of Souldiours, Schollers, Marchants and Husbandmen. Of which Comedie I cannot forget the saying of a notable wise Counsellor that is now dead (4), (Sir Fraunces Walsingham) who, when some, (to sing Placebo), advised that it should be forbidden,

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(1) Account of the Treasurer of the Chamber, 23-24 Eliza. Pipe Office 542. also Harl. MS. 1641. Ledger Book of Sir Thomas Henneage.

(2) There is a gap in the Revels Book between 14th Feb. 1582, and 1st Nov. 1583.

(3) *A Brief Apology for Poetrie*, 1591.

(4) He died in 1590.

because it was somewhat too plaine, and indeed, as the old saying is, (Sooth boord is no boord) yet he would have it alloued, adding, it was fit, that they which do that they should not, should heare that they would not ».

Doubtless this brought William Hunnis into trouble, probably accentuated by differences with his former patron the Earl of Leicester. It is possible that suspicions of the Earl's good faith had arisen in the Master's mind (1). At least he dedicated his « Seven Sobbes » of that year to the Countess of Sussex, widow of Leicester's rival.

Mr. Fleay says that « *up till 1582*, Lyly had written for the Chapel Royal boys ». I can find no proof of this. Lyly had only come to London in 1578 ; and brought out his « Euphues » in 1578-9 ; « Euphues his England » in 1580, so there was not very much time for him to have done much for the Chapel. Mr. Fleay further classifies his play of « Campaspe » as one of those entered to the Children of the Chapel in 1580-81 ; but on the title page of the one edition of that play, published by Thomas Cadman, 1584, it is said to have been « played before the Queen's Majestie on New Year's day at night by her Majesty's Children and the Children of Paules ». The other edition states that the representation was on « Twelfth day at night », by the same performers. But a reference to the Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber proves that the four last plays of Hunnis were on Shrove Sonday, on 31st December, on Shrove Tuesday, and on St. Stephen's day (26th Dec.) 1580-1-2. So Campaspe can have been played on none of these occasions. I believe that it was put forward as an extra play, or that it was played at the New Year of 1583-4, which would accord with the idea of its publication immediately afterwards.

The Revels Book has a gap between the 14th Feb. 1582, and the 31st Oct. 1584, and another between 1584, and the 31st October 1587, when it notes one year, and nothing later in Elizabeth's reign.

My argument does not affect the date of the acting of Peele's « Arraignment of Paris », which was played on a Shrove

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(1) See page 179.

Tuesday, the date of the performance of which was not entered on the title-page of Henry Marsh's issue of that play in 1584. It might therefore have been the second play of 1581-2. But I do not think that it was acted until after « The Game of Cards ». That was a fitting termination for the free hand of the old Master. There is no doubt the young writers of the day had learned to excel the last survivor of the old school. A new taste in the method of acting also began to tell in favour of the adult companies. The hardest blow at the Children of the Chapel was struck, when on the 10th of March 1582-3, two months and a half after the representation of « The Game of Cards » by the Children, Mr. Edmund Tilney, then Master of the Revels, was appointed to choose out a company of Players for her Majesty the Queen, from the Public Companies. During the following season they were repeatedly allowed to play before the Court, and they seem to have filled not only their own natural place, but that hitherto allotted to « the children » (1).

The lack of fees for representations seems to have been the last straw that broke the poor Master's back, and in that year he made a pitiful petition to the Council to grant him some relief, on account of the rise in prices. The Queen had herself been suffering on the same account. The cost of living had greatly increased during her reign, through causes that she never fully grasped. She made spasmodic efforts to retrench in her own household ; she made public and private investigations as to the causes of her own increased charges (2) ; and yet she was frequently faced with appeals such as that presented by Hunnis. Sometimes she steeled her heart, sometimes she allowed her feelings to be touched. In this case she seems to have *done something* for her petitioner, though not in the pleasantest of ways (3).

As the petition bears directly on the relations of the Chapel Royal to the Revels, it is wise to print it in full. I do not think it has yet appeared.

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(1) See Revels Book.

(2) For increased expenditure in Royal Household, see Harl. MS. 589. Art. 29. f. 157.

(3) See Chap. XXII.

« Mawe (1) it please yor honores, William Hunnys, Mr. to the Children of Hir Highnes Chappell most humble beseecheth to consider of those few lines. First, her Matie alloweth for the dyett of VII Children of hir sayd Chappell daylie VId a peece by the daye and £40 by the yeare for theyr aparoll and all other furniture.

Agayne there is no fee allowed, neyther for the Mr. of the saide Children, nor for his ussher, and yet nevertheless is he constrayned over and besyde the ussher still to kepe both a man servant to attend upon them, and likewise a woman servant to washe and kepe them cleane.

Also there is no allowance for the lodginge of the sayd children such tyme as they attend uppon the Courte, but the Mr. to his greate charge is dryven to hyer chambers, both for himself, his usher, children and servants.

Also, there is no allowance for ryding (2) journies when occasion serveth the Mr. to travell, or send unto sundrie partes within this realme to take upp and bring such children as be thought meet to be trained for the service of hir Majestie.

Also, there is no allowance ne other consideration for these children whose voyces be changed, who onelye do depend upon the charge of the sayd Mr. untill such tyme as he may preferr the same with cloathing and other furniture, to his no small charge.

And although it may be objected that hir Majesties allowance is no whitt less then hir Majesties father of famous memorie therefore allowed, yet considering the pryces of thinges present to the tyme past, and what annuities the Mr. then hadd out of

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(1) *S. P. D. S.* Eliz. CLXIII.

(2) In this Mary was more liberal. « Marye the Quene. Our pleasure and commandement is that with all spede uppon the receipt of these our letters, ye cause a wagon sufficient and necessarie with traces, harnesses, and hammercloths, mete and requisite for the same, to be made and provided by Edmonde Stanton, Clarke of our Stable for the necessarie conveying and cariage of the children of our Chapel, and their man from place to place, at such seasons, as they by our commandment shall remove to serve where wee shall appointe them, and these our letters shall be sufficient warrant etc. Westminster, 27 Feb. 1 Mary ». Exchequer Accounts. 427. (11). Elizabeth's Patent to Hunnis himself to take up children allowed the same. Pat. Rolls. 9 Eliz. Part 10, mem 16, back.

sundrie abbies within this realme, besydes sondrie giftes from the Kinge, and dyvers particuler fees besides for the better mayntenance of the sayd children and office, and besides also there hath ben withdrawne from the sayd children synce hir Majesties comming to the crowne twelvepence by the daye which was allowed for theyr breakfast, as maye appeare by the Treasurer of the Chamber his accompt for the tyme beinge, with other allowances incident to the Office, as appeareth by the auntient accomptes in the sayd Office which I heere omytt.

The Burden heerof hath from tyme to tyme so hindered the Mr. of the children, viz. Mr. Bower (1), Mr. Edwards (2), myself, and Mr. Farrant (3), that notwithstanding some good helpes otherwyse, some of them dyed in so poore case and so deepelie indebted that they have not left scarcelye wherewith to burye them. In tender consideration whereof, might it please yor honors that the sayde allowance of sixpence a daye apeece for the Children's dyet might be reserved in her Majesties coffers during the tyme of theyre attendance. And in lieu thereof they to be allowed meate and drinke within this honorable householde, for that I am not able uppon so small allowance eny longer to beare so heavie a burden, or otherwise to be consydered as shall seem best unto yor honourable wisdomes. William Hunnys ».

Outside this bears date « November 1583. The humble petition of the Mr. of the Children of hir Highness Chappell ». To this there is added in another hand.

« To have further allowance for the finding of the Children, for causes herein mentioned ».

It is not quite clear that a definite and satisfactory arrangement was come to within the lifetime of Hunnis. But it is certain that his successor benefited by his petition, and that James the first further increased the allowance for the Children.

The poet John Lyly, supposed by some to have been the rival and supplanter of Hunnis, did not seem to have fared

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(1) He died in 1563.
(2) Died in 1566.
(3) Died in 1580.

much better than he did. He was given a sort of anomalous post in 1584 as Vice-Master of the Children of St. Pauls and the Savoy, and was re-enjoined to give his attention to Her Majesties Revels, with a suggestion, that by and by, he might be appointed Master of the Revels. But he was only « fed on had-I-wist hopes ». There are preserved in the British Museum two letters of Lyly to the Queen, fearlessly reproachful and bitter ; one in 1591, after waiting ten years, « I was entertayned your Majesties Servant by your own gratious favour, straightened with a condition that I should ayme all my courses at the Revells.... for this tenne years I have attended with an unwearied patience ». If her Majesty thinks him unworthy she might waft him to the country, where he « may write prayers instead of playes, and endure repentance that I have played the foole for long, and yet live ». The second letter is even more strong. After *thirteen* years service he has had no reward. « My laste will is shorter than mine invention. But three legacyes I bequeath, patience to my creditors, melancollie without measure to my friends, and beggary without shame to my family (1) ». It need not be supposed, as Mr. Fleay does, that there was any definite inhibition of the Children of the Chapel after 1583. The Masters of the Revels (2) had to choose « the best plays

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(1) John Lyly, 1554-1606, became a student at Magdalene College, Oxford, 1569, graduated 1573, spent three unprofitable years in the country ; came to London 1578, published his *Euphues, or the Anatomy of Wit*, 1578-9; *Euphues his England*, 1580. He wrote poems also, referred to in Thomas Watson's « Hekatompathia ». He married Beatrice Browne in St-Clements Danes, on 22nd Nov. 1583. Before 1584 he had written some plays, performed by the Children of the Chapel and St. Pauls. He was made vice master of the children there, and after that date he performed frequently. His chief plays were *Alexander and Campaspe*, published 1584, *Sapho and Phao*, 1584. *Endimion, the Man in the Moon*, 1591, *Galathea*, 1592. *Mydas*, 1592, *Mother Bombie*, 1594, *The Woman in the Moone*, 1597, *Love's Metamorphoses*, 1600, *The Warning for fair Women*, and *The Mayde's Metamorphosis*. In St Pauls Library is a list of the plays played by the Children of St. Pauls : Lyly's 6 : Gallathea. Endymion. Campaspe. Sapho & Phao. Midas & Mother Bombie.

(2) Edmund Tilney succeeded Sir Thomas Benger as Master of the Revels on 24th July 1578, and held the office for 30 years. The Master of the Revels had rooms provided him in Court, as may be seen by the notice of those allowed Mr. Edmund Tilney, Mr. of her Majesties Revels, and Thomas Blagrave, Clerk of the Revels. Brit. Museum Lansdowne MS. 86. Plut. 60. It is difficult to see how John Lyly could have expected to have superseded them, and an office « in reversion » was often granted in vain.

they could find », and doubtless the broken-spirited master could not write up to the new demands, or perhaps he *would* not (1).

Though the usual sources of information fail us at this time, the Children of the Chapel do occasionally act, not « under their Master Nathaniel Giles », as Mr. Fleay erroneously believes, but under their Master William Hunnis, until his death 1597. They might also have acted for other noblemen, whose payments are not recorded.

Lyly's « Sapho and Phao » had been acted by her Majesty's Children and those of St. Paul's on some New Year's day or Twelfth day before 1584. One of Peele's also had been played, « The Araygnment of Paris, A Pastorall, Presented before the Queen's Majestie by the Children of her Chapel. Henry Marsh 1584 ».

There is no prayer at the conclusion, but it gives all the prizes up to Zabeta. The date of the performance is not given. It could not have been the 1582 performance, but might have been the 1581, or an extra one, in 1583. On « 6 April 1584. Thomas Cadman, yt ys granted him that yf he gett ye comedie of Sappho lawfully allowed to him, then none of this companie shall interrupt him to enjoye it, vid, Lyllie ».

Mr Ward and Mr Fleay add « Galathea » and « Endimion » and others to the list of Children of the Chapel. But the Stationer's Register says : « 4th Oct. 1591, Mistress Broome, wydowe of William Broom. Three Comedies plaied before her Majestie by the Children of Paules, thone called Endimion, thother Galathea, and thother Midas 18d ».

In 1591 « Summer's last will and testament » by Nash was acted by her Majesty's children at Croydon, Marlowe and Nash's « Dido Queen of Carthage » was acted by the Children of her Majesty's Chapel in 1594, the very season in which the author of « Venus and Adonis », and « Lucrece » is first recorded to have performed before the Queen at Greenwich.

These were important times in England. Hunnis would hear the joy-bells ringing in Westminster « at the behedding (2) of

(1) See Spenser's allusion in the Complaint of Thalia.
(2) Churchwarden's Accounts, St Margarets, Westminster.

the Queene of Scots », in 1586-7, when the ringers of St. Margarets had to mend their ropes ; would learn of the prevaricating policy of excuses that followed. He would mourn with all men of letters, at the death of Sir Philip Sidney, 1586. Then the nation was stirred to its heart by the threatened invasion of Philip of Spain (1). No King of England now, the nation was united in determination « to keep that no stranger should land ». « God blew and they were scattered ». The joybells of the kingdom rang as they never had rung before. And the Queen struck a medal in remembrance, and wrote verses, which might further have been classified among the metrical Psalms. « A songe made by her Majesty and sunge before her at her cominge from Whitehall to Powles through Flete Street, Anno Domini 1588, in December after the scattering of the Spanish Navy ». It begins,

Loke and bowe downe thyne eare O Lord.

There are three six-lined stanzas (2). She had kept up her poetic efforts through the years (3). With the national joy there mingled for her a personal sorrow that few of the people shared, for the Earl of Leicester died at Cornbury, on his way home from his responsibilities amid the defences. It is said that Nemesis pursued him, and that he drunk of poison prepared for another. We do not know the truth, but we know that he died, and that he left a gap in the aging Queen's hungry heart, that was only partially satisfied by his stepson, the young Earl of Essex, son of the man he had so cruelly wronged.

In Sept. 1589, a masque was sent into Scotland for the King of Scots' marriage.

The Lansdowne MS. 59. 21 mentions the expenses, that Edward Tilney incurred, in the fayre writing of all the devises on the 17th day of November, in two copies for the Queen. i. e. for her birthday.

We do not know who wrote these devices, nor which of

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(1) « Paid for 2 prayerbooks when the Spanish fleet were on the narrow seas ». *Ibid.*

(2) Duke of Beaufort's MS. Hist. Man. Com. 12th Rep. Pt. 9. XXI S. 160.

(3) See also Stat. Reg. On 15th Nov. 1578 Master Barker, lycensed unto him under thandes of the wardens 2 little anthems or thinges in meeter of hir Majestie, IIId.

them the Queen preferred. The number of dramatists was rapidly increasing in consequence of the demand for plays. The tastes of the Queen fostered production, the animosity of the London Corporation was only sufficient to prune and purify the devices of the poets.

And the rising of Shakespeare, like the sun in the sky, by his very brightness, extinguished the glory of the lesser lights that had heralded his dawn.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE LOST PLAYS OF WILLIAM HUNNIS.

Thomas Newton implies that his friend had written *Interludes* early, at the same time as his « gallant Lays » and other exercises of his muse. His period of production must therefore have been divided into two stages, that before and that after his appointment to the Mastership in 1566. The duration of the first of these I cannot suggest; that of the second would be probably about 15 years. I have been unable to find any definite Interludes of the first period that have ever been attributed to him, of the second period there are but a few names of plays that were certainly associated with him. *The Tragedy of the King of Scotts, Narcissus, Alucius*, the *Historie of Loyaltie and Bewtie;* and the Play of « *the Game of Cards* ». Partial titles are *A story of* — » and *A Historie of* — » the names probably not having been completed as being difficult to spell.

A partial description of another unnamed play, called « Mr. Hunnys' Play » describes hunters, hounds, and horns, and something may be said for associating him with *The Play of Fortune*. The Children of the Chapel performed many other plays in his time, whose very titles have not come to us. Of course, though these were performed by the Children, they need not have been written by the Master. I may frankly confess that we have not as yet found a single play complete and acknowledged to be his, not even fragments of one, except *The Lady of the Lake*. But the two poems in England's Helicon, which have always been ascribed to him, seem to me, while illustrating « gallant Lays », to have been songs taken from a Play, Device, or Masque, presented somewhere early in the spring. They seem too personal and flattering to have been addressed to the Queen. Still any such incongruity seems to have been possible in these days; and they might have been fitted for some masque in the spring to honour the Queen.

« Wodenfrides Song in Praise of Amargana ».

« The sunne the season in each thing
Revives new pleasures, the sweet Spring
Hath put to flight the Winter keene,
To glad our Lovely Sommer Queene.

The pathes where Amargana treads
With flowrie tap'stries Flora spreads,
And Nature clothes the ground in greene,
To glad our lovely Sommer Queene.

The groaves put on their rich aray,
With Hawthorne bloomes imbroydered gay,
And sweet perfum'd with Eglantine,
To glad our lovely Sommer Queene.

The silent River stayes his course
Whilst playing on the christall sourse
The silver scaled fish are seene,
To glad our lovely Sommer Queene.

The Woode at her faire sight reioyces
The little birds with their lowd voyces
In consort on the bryers beene,
To glad our lovely Sommer Queene.

The fleecie Flockes doo scud and skip
The Wood-Nimphs, fawnes and Satires trip,
And daunce the Mirtle trees betweene,
To glad our lovely Sommer Queene.

Great Pan (our God), for her deere sake
This feast and meeting bids us make
Of Sheepheards, Lads, and Lasses sheene,
To glad our lovely Sheepheards Queene.

And every Swaine his chaunce doth proue
To winne faire Amargana's love,
In sporting strifes quite voide of spleene,
To glad our lovely Sommer Queene.

All happines let Heaven her lend,
And all the Graces her attend
Thus bid we pray *the muses nine,*
Long live our lovely Sommer Queene.

Finis. W. H.

England's Helicon 1600. Sig. 1. 2.

Another of the same.

Happy sheepheards sit and see,
with joy
The peerelesse wight;
For whose sake Pan keepes from ye
annoy
And gives delight.

Blessing this pleasant spring
Her praises must I sing.
List you Swaines, list to me ;
The whiles your Flocks feeding be.

First her brow a beauteous globe
I deeme
And golden haire ;
And her cheeke Auroraes roabe
dooth seeme
But farre more faire,
Her eyes like starres are bright
And dazle with their light,
Rubies her lips to see,
But to tast, nectar they be.

Orient pearles her teeth, her smile
dooth linke
the graces three ;
Her white necke dooth eyes beguile
to thinke
it Iuorie.
Alas, her Lilly hand
How it dooth me commaund ?
Softer silke none can be
And whiter milk none can see.

Circe's wand is not so straite
as is
Her body small ;
But two pillers beare the waight
of this
Maiestick Hall.
Those be I you assure
Of Alabaster pure
Polish'd fine in each part
Ne're Nature yet shewed like Art.

How shall I her pretty tread
expresse
when she dooth walke ?
Scarse she dooth the Primerose head
depresse
or tender stalke
Of blew-veined Violets
Whereon her foote she sets.
Vertuous she is, for we find
In bodye faire, beauteous minde.

Live faire Amargana still
extold
In all my rime ;
Hand want Art when I want will,
t'unfold
her worth divine.

But now my Muse dooth rest,
Dispaire clos'd in my brest,
Of the valour I sing;
Weake faith that no hope dooth bring.
England's Helicon. Finis. W. H.
1600. I. 3.

The hitch in the concluding lines makes me feel that the verses have been torn from their setting rather than written as complete poems. They seem to have been prepared for the same device, perhaps as alternatives, perhaps as sung by rival shepherds. The beauty of the second is unquestioned; some of the lines remind us of Ben. Jonson's lyrics.

It is true that though they have always been attributed to him, there is a slight doubt as to their being by William Hunnis, as they are only signed W. H. Sir Egerton Brydges, while acknowledging there was no other known poet of these initials, wondered why they should have been introduced *so long after the date of Hunnis*, but he seems to be unaware that the poet had only died in 1597; and that his name was still popular with the people. Indeed we may suppose Bodenham to have purposely introduced his lines into this selection of Arcadian and gallant lays, to shew that he also was a writer in that style.

The « W.H. » (Sir William Herbert) Campion's opponent, who wrote the « Sidney » and a poor lyric in « *The Phoenix Nest* » had died in 1593(1); the « W. H. », Sir William Herbert of *Britanniae Lachrymae*, and of *Cadwallador* did not begin to sing till later. The « W. Har » of the Epicedium of Lady Helen Branch was a municipal poet of different tastes, the « W. H. » of the dedication of Shakespeare's Sonnets is an *unknown quantity* (2), the « W. H. » (Sir William Harvey) who fought for and who wrote to Queen Elizabeth, and who married the Countess of Southampton, is not known to have written poetry. He may possibly have done so, but the ascription to William Hunnis, is very much more probable in every way.

I feel glad to believe that therefore we have preserved a fragment of one of his dramatic works, and I think I have reason to attribute it to the festivities in 1572 described in the Revels'

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(1) 16th Jan. 1586-7 licenced to John Windet Sir William Herbartes Sidney.
(2) I have shewn that I believe W. H. to be Sir William Harvey in my edition of Shakespeare's Sonnets. (De la More Press) and in the *Athenæum* article « Mr W. H. ». Aug. 4, 1900, page 154.

Book, when the Queen built a Banqueting Hall for the French Duke Montmorency, Ambassador from France, and when a Masque was played of Apollo and the nine Muses, when William Hunnis, is known at least to have provided the flowers.

The King of Scotts, the first « tragedy » of the Chapel Royal, may of course have been written by some one else, but there is every reason to believe that it was the Master's prime effort, immediately after the granting of his patent.

There are many interesting associations with *Narcissus*. There is no notice of the publication of this play in the Stationers' Registers, yet there is reason to believe either that it was printed, or that it had been performed frequently enough to be well-known, and had merits enough to have become popular. A Thomas Edwards, possibly the yeoman of the chamber (but the name is not uncommon), wrote at least two poems *Cephalus and Procris*, and *Narcissus*, licensed 1593, published 1595. In L'Envoy to the latter poem he gives sympathetic appreciations of the chief contemporary poets, referring to them under the names of their works. « Colin » (Spenser) he places first in power and place; he gives a quaint allusion to Shakespeare as *Adonis*, to Daniell as *Rosamond*, Thomas Watson as *Amintas*, Christopher Marlowe as *Leander*, the two latter of whom both « are gone ». He goes on to say

> « And when all is done and past
> *Narcissus* in another sort
> And gayer clothes shall be plas't
> Eke perhaps in good plight
> In meanwhile I'll make report
> Of your winnings that do write ».

This of course *might* refer to another edition or variation of Edward's own poem, but it is very unlikely. It is much more likely he refers to a well-known rendering of the story he had treated, which was about to be published, and the description suggests it should be in a dramatic form. If of the Court, Edwards would certainly be acquainted with Hunnis, and would know of his works, his difficulties, his plans; and it seems to me that he meant « the author of the play of Narcissus, is about to publish it ». Again Nash, in his « Summer's last Will and Testament » played at Croydon by the Children of the Chapel in 1591 says :

« Tiresias to Narcissus promised
Much prosperous hap, and many golden daies
If of his beauty he no knowledge took ».

Here again the author may be referring to the popular story (1) only as an illustration ; but he may have been guided to the use of it, by remembering that it was a play of the Master of the Children, who were performing his work. Again the work *as a play*, is honourably mentioned by Thomas Heywood in his *Apology for Actors*, 1612. Book III. F. III. It may be remembered that William Hunnis had written Interludes about the date of John Heywood's, verses in company with his son Jasper in the Paradise of dainty Devices, and plays at the date of this Thomas Heywood the dramatist, who says « Our English tongue, which hath been the most harsh, uneven and broken language of the world, part Dutch, part Irish, Saxon, Scotch, Welsh, and indeed, a gallimawfrey of many, but perfect in none, is now by this second means of playing continually refined, every writer striving in himself to add a newe florish unto it, so that in processe from the most rude and unpolisht tongue, it is growne to a most perfect and composed language, and many excellent workes and elaborate poems writ in the same, that many nations grow inamored of our tongue before despised ».... « Plays both glorify and educate a people » says Heywood, and adds « Art thou proud? Our scene presents thee with the fall of Phaethon, Narcissus pining in the love of his shadow, ambitious Hamon, now calling himself a God and by and by thrust headlong among divels ». The feeling of the author is strong on the point, he asserts

« He that denies that Theaters should be
He may as well deny a world to me ».

No other dramatist is known to have touched the story of Narcissus before this date (2). The character of Haman, is probably in reference to his fortunes in *Godly Quene Hester* an anonymous play of early Elizabethan times. It lays much stress on the Chapel Royal of Queen Hester, and might very

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(1) Golding's Translation of Ovid 1567, in the 3rd. book f. 35, gives the Story of Narcissus.

(2) Miss Lee has edited an Interlude of the name, dated early in the 17th Century. James Shirley the Dramatist wrote *Narcissus or The Self-Lover. 1646.*

well have been written by Hunnis himself. It is believed to be the foundation of the play of *Hester and Ahasuerus* acted by the Lord Admiral's men June 8th 1594.

I would like to suggest that it is possible, that *The Fall of Phaethon* thus honourably mentioned by Heywood in association with Narcissus, another play also lost to our knowledge, might have been the name of *The Storie of....* performed by the Children of the Chapel on Shrove Sonday 1580-1 of which title the clerk was not certain. The name is quite puzzling enough to allow the Clerk of the Revels to pause over the spelling. There were properties in the Revels' book, that might well have fitted the make up of that play.

It is surprising that the play, called especially *Mr. Hunneys play* of 1574-5, should have again utilised the attractions of a hunt in the scene, this being the third time at least, that we know the device to have been used. Yet that the Queen had not tired of it, is evident by her again giving a double gift on the occasion.

The Device of *The Lady of the Lake* at Kenilworth, we partly know, though, as regards its composition, it also must be considered a lost play. There is no clue to the names of the other plays performed. The plays themselves *may* be preserved disassociated from their author, and possibly, through the dates of their performance, or through some hitherto hidden allusion, they may yet be traced.

That the very memory should have been lost, of a man who held the place that Hunnis once did in the dramatic world requires to be specially accounted for. The dislike to publishing plays was not a fanciful, but a real motive of action. A published play was not allowed to be performed before the Queen, and even the patent allowed to Leicester's servants, expressly stated that they were only allowed to act what had been « seen and allowed by our Masters of the Revels and that the same be not printed ». Any author then, who had any hope of future performance, any company who bought a play, carefully preserved their property from publication. Occasionally printers circumvented them and printed popular plays. Occasionally authors,

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(1) See my *Athenæum* Article « William Hunnis the Dramatist » 1900. p. 410.

or translators, who wrote rather to be read than to be acted, handed their works over to the printer, as Thomas Newton did his translation of Seneca. Manuscripts have a peculiar faculty for vanishing, and lend themselves to other uses than that to which they are intended. In regard to his plays I believe that the Puritan half of Hunnis had been moved by the anti-dramatic critics, and that he conscientiously refrained from printing the plays that he wrote to please the Queen, and to earn thin butter for his scanty bread. The same conscientious tendency evidently fostered an increasing didactic spirit in his plays, which made them at last pall upon court tastes. I already have noted the name and the description of a *Game of Cards*; supposing it to have offended the Queen or the Court, so that it was the last play he produced of his own.

After that date, when his children had the chance of performing, he would see that they were provided with more sparkling pieces of the new school, rich in complimentary allusions, and innocent of educative ethics. We know that Sir Philip Sidney, when he felt that his wound at Zutphen would prove fatal, consulted a minister about his famous romance *Arcadia*, and desired that it should be suppressed, which fortunately was not done. But William Hunnis held his plays in his own hand, and he might have destroyed them. Yet even if Narcissus and other plays had been printed, their very popularity might wear them out. His many multiplied volumes of sacred verse are all rare, some only exist in unique copies, and one at least, has been altogether lost. I have only been able to shew that he once filled a niche in the gallery of Elizabethan dramatists.

I strongly believe that he was the author of the anonymous *Comedy or Interlude of Jacob and Esau*. Henry Sutton, in the same year in which he was liceneed « to print the New Court of Venus » in 1557, had been licenced « to prynte an interlude upon the History of Jacob and Esawe out of the xxvii chapter of the firste book of Moyses called Genyses and for his license he giveth to the house iiij^{d} » (his first fee). Whether Sutton really printed it then or not, there seems little reason to doubt that he dealt with the same production as did Bynemann who published it in 1568. In neither case is an author named, and

no reference has, as yet, secured an attribution to any special person. The two dates associated with the book are related significantly to two crises in the life of Hunnis. It was licensed when he was lying prisoner in the Tower, his property, books and papers, at the mercy of friend or foe, censor or publisher. It was printed by Bynneman shortly after his appointment to the Mastership of the Children, which might be expected to make his work more attractive to possible purchasers. It was taken from Genesis, the book of the Bible which he seems most closely to have studied, *The Hive full of Hunnye* is only a metrical rendering of the book, and its stories reappear in his other publications. The terminal prayer shews that it had been acted before the Queen; but there is the question, before which Queen? The prayer for the Clergy would hardly have preceded that for the Queen in Elizabeth's reign, while it would be natural in Mary's. But the absence of all reference to the King, would seem to throw back the date of its performance to 1553-4. It would not have been acted before either Queen had it been previously printed. Supposing that Sutton had not proceeded to printing it, Hunnis might have produced it in his first year of office, as a contrast to his Tragedy of the King of Scots, which appeared in his second season. But if Sutton really printed it, the date of production seems necessarily thrown back to the beginning of Mary's reign.

The songs introduced shew that it was written by one accustomed to music, the hymns by one accustomed to Church Music. Two of the characters, the bright little Abra, and the saucy little Mido, are evidently created to be acted by special chorister boys. It is redolent of the Chapel Royal. But the gentlemen of the Chapel between 1547-1557 were more distinguished for music than for literature. Palfreyman, it is true, had edited and expanded *the Sayings of the Wise Men*, Christopher Tye the metrical version of *the Acts of the Apostles*, and Shepherd had written some songs. The only one of them that we are assured had written Interludes was William Hunnis, and that by Thomas Newton, the editor of « The English Seneca », one who ought to know. The reference to Esau's « winning his spurs » and other phrases suggest that the writer had been associated with nobility just in the way, that we know

Hunnis to have been (1). Hunnis seems all his life to have been interested in, and associated with gardens, and little Abra gives the first list of kitchen vegetables preserved in poetic literature. The description of Rebecca's Psalm-singing would come naturally from one who had been a Psalm-versifier. It must not be forgotten that in early days Catholics were not alarmed at the use of Psalms. It was only after the Pope's decision in 1553 that they became suspicious. Of course this allusion makes it however more likely to have been produced in Elizabeth's reign.

The remarkable character of this dramatic work has not yet been fully recognised, though Mr. Collier and others have noted that it is much superior to anything that had appeared before it.

The story of Jacob and Esau had been told in one of the Mystery plays ; but the Interlude bears no relation to that rendering. The main incidents are taken from Holy Writ ; but it is not a religious play, properly so called. There is no attempt to teach Anglicanism or Catholicism. Even the moral and didactic effort is veiled. It is only a dramatist's conception of the possible situation. The author must have been accustomed to acting, and he knew what could be put on the stage. Subordinate characters are introduced, servants and neighbours, to throw light on the environment and the action of the central personages. All are drawn in true perspective, and painted in harmonious colour. The bringing on of the horns and the hounds on the stage suggests the device of Richard Edwards in *Palamon and Arcyte* and Hunnis in *Narcissus*. If it had been designed by Hunnis so far in advance as 1553, he could have felt it no plagiarism to reproduce his method in later plays.

It may be objected that the style of the Drama is unlike that of his metrical renderings. But his Psalms and Hymns and scriptural versifications were in the conventional Ballad measures to suit, not only the taste of the people, but the reformed church melodies and popular airs. The chief desire of the writers of such was to educate, therefore they kept as closely to the text as their rhythm and rhyme would allow them.

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(1) See my *Athenæum* Article « The Interlude or Comedy of Jacob and Esau » 1900. p. 538.

Hunnis expressly states that such works did not allow of « the filed phraze » etc. The religious verses of Hunnis are quite as good, nay better than those of Bishop Coverdale, or of Francis Bacon ; sometimes even as good as those of Sir Thomas Wyat. He always classed such works as among his « *Recreations* ». Dramatic representations were the real business of his life. Though we have no certified plays to illustrate his dramatic language, a comparative parallel may be found in the colloquial style of his depositions and confessions ; of his vein of *allusion* in his « Complaint of Old Age », of his lyric style in « the Paradise of Dainty Devices » where Abra's song might well have been included (1), and in « the songs of Amargana ». The baldest style of his religious verse is matched by « The Poet » in the Prologue and Epilogue of *Jacob and Esau*.

One word seemed peculiar to me, and common to the *Hive full of Hunnye* and the Interlude, the rendering of Jacob's pottage as « rice », instead of lentiles. I find however that nothing can be based on that, as Matthew's Bible uses the same word. The Talmud says « tradition records that the day Abraham died, Jacob had made a dish of peas, whereby to condole with his father Isaac ». It is the first drama of its kind that eschews all allegorical treatment; among the first that has a due regard to the classical unities, and is divided into five acts and proportionate scenes ; the first that has given a descriptive list of « the Dramatis Personae », and determined suitable attire. The most striking feature of the play perhaps, is the modernness of its style, a sign that the writer was one of the leaders in the literary developments of the Metropolis. The Dialogue is well-sustained; except for two lively soliloquies there are no long speeches, as were then too common. It is permeated with quiet humour, that never approaches either coarseness or profanity.

I give a short analysis of the play in the Appendix.

I am aware that Ralph Roister Doister has been given

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(1) « It hath been a proverb before I was born
Yong doth it prick that will be a thorn ».
This is quoted by Lyly in his *Woman in the Moon* Act III. 1597.
« Timely madam crooks a tree that will be a camocke.
And yong it prickes that will be a thorn ».

seniority in the comic drama (1). But the supposition that it was one of the plays written by Udall for his Eton boys, giving it a date before 1541, is most unfounded. It is more likely to have been one of the plays written when Queen Mary received him into favour at the beginning of her reign, and asked him to help in the Revels. I know that all the writers on the subject from Warton down to the writer of the life of Udall in The Dictionary of National Biography, have repeated the assertion that it was probably written in 1550, as it was *quoted* in the first edition of Thomas Wilson's « Rule of Reason » which came out in 1551. But no one took the trouble to test this assertion. It did not appear in the 1st edition of 1551, nor in the second edition of 1552. There may have been other editions, but the third edition which is preserved in the British Museum, appears late in 1553. It is entirely rearranged and reprinted, and is extended into quarto, instead of small octavo. In this edition, for the first time, appears Merrygreek's letter (quoted by Wilson) significantly enough, in the chapter on « The Places of false conclusions, and deceitful reasons ». It is the first edition whose page was large enough to hold the lines.

And thus the specious arguments of the many critics of the date of *Roister Doister* are thrown to the winds. The play was only licensed in 1566, and published later (2). Fleay acknowledged that it must have been heavily altered before its appearance in print in Elizabeth's reign, and that it was quite possible the acts and scenes were then introduced. Very much the same remarks may be made concerning this Scriptural Play.

I think it quite probable that *Jacob and Esau* was written in Edward's reign, acted and printed in Mary's, and reprinted in Elizabeth's, and as we are certain that it was licenced nine

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(1) Nicholas Udall Master of Eton; Rector of Braintree, Prebend of Windsor, Rector of Calborne, and Master of Westminster Grammar School is generally considered the founder of the transition play. Ralph Roister Doister opens by Mathewe Merygreke.

« As long lyveth the merry man (they say)
As doth the sory man, and longer, by a day ».

Mr. Ward gives *Misogonus*, 1560, as the first Comedy preceding *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, 1575.

(2) As the title page of the only copy of the printed book is wanting, one does not know the exact date even of that and whether is was a new edition altered and improved.

years previous to *Roister Doister*, I think I am justified in claiming for it a prior position in relation to the classical use of Acts and Scenes. But I have no desire for laboured contentions, or claims of precedence. I have only a strong desire to know the authorship of this play which interests me so much ; and an inclination to relegate it to the repertory of the man who dwelt so much upon the first book of Moses. No one seems to have more « probabilities » in his favour. I know there is an attempt being made to accord it to Udall ; but it is as unlike his style, spirit, and characterization, as it is like what we know of the work of William Hunnis.

In regard to his cessation of dramatic writing, after the performance of *The Game of Cards*, it is just possible that Spenser may have had Hunnis in his thought, when in 1591 he published *The Tears of the Muses* and makes Thalia, the Muse of Comedy, say ; —

> « But that same gentle spirit, from whose pen
> Large streames of hunnie and sweet nectar flow
> Scorning the boldness of such base-born men
> Which dare their follies forthe so rashly throwe,
> Doth rather choose to sit in idle cell
> Than so himself in mockerie to sell ».

I say this only because his silence fits the date, the allusion to *hunnie*, and *idle cell* fit none of his greater known contemporaries.

TABLE OF KNOWN DATES OF PERFORMANCES OF THE CHILDREN OF THE CHAPEL ROYAL 1566-1597. UNDER WILLIAM HUNNIS.

Season 1566-7. No performance mentioned (Too soon after the death of Edwards).

1567-8. « The Tragedy of the King of Scotts », either Shrove Sunday or Shrove Tuesday, 10th or 12th Feb.

1568-9. No clear entry yet found.

1569-70. On Twelfth Day at Night. « A Play », not named.

1571-2. On Twelfth day, a Play « Narcissus », (double fee). Hunnis probably shared in the « Mask of Apollo and the Nine Muses » in Summer.

1572-3. One of six plays, names not noted.

1573-4. No clear entry found, probably « The Play of Fortune ».

1574-5. Shrove Sunday « Mr Hunney's Play ». (double fee). In Summer, at Kenilworth, « The Lady of the Lake ».

1575-6. « Mutius Scævola » performed by The Children of Windsor and of the Chapel, set on by Rich. Farrant.

1576-7. Shrove Sunday. « A Play », unnamed.

1577-8. St-John's Day, 27th December « The Historie of — »?.

1578-9. Shrove Monday « Historie of Loyaltie and Bewtie ».

1579-80. St-John's Day « A Historie of Alucius ».

1580-1. Shrove Sunday « A Storie of — »? He probably shared in Devices before French Ambassadors.

Season 1581-2.	31st Dec. 1581, & Shrove Tuesday 1581-2. Two Plays, unnamed.
1582-3.	St-Stephen's Day 26th Dec. « A Game of Cards ».
1583-4.	The Children of the Chapel had helped the Children of Pauls to produce Lyly's « Sapho & Phao », some New Year's Day or Twelfth Day before 1584.
1584-5.	
1585-6.	
1586-7.	
1587-8.	
1588-9.	
1589-90.	
1590-1.	The Wars of Cyrus.
1591-2.	July 27th Summer's Last Will & Testament by Nash at Croydon.
1592-3.	
1593-4.	
1594-5.	
1595-6.	
1596-7.	
1597.	Death of William Hunnis, Master for thirty years and a half.

CHAPTER XXII.

CONCLUSION.

It is very evident that at no time of his life had William Hunnis been in what he would have called « comfortable circumstances ». His expenses seemed always to have tended to increase beyond his income. Only part of this was due to his own liberality. Radical economic changes were raising the price of commodities or depreciating the value of money during his whole century. Those who had, as he had, a fixed income, with which to face constantly increasing liabilities, were in a sad plight. The Queen herself did not escape difficulties, and made many heroic attempts to escape from them.

In 1569 « Mr Yunys of the Aumbrey », Westminster, was expected to pay 8d to the Overseers of the Poor, but there is only a blank against his name. In September 1570 « Mr. Hunys of the Amery », has « nickell » written against his name. That was the very year in which the Queen managed to squeeze out of the Corporation £40 for him, in lieu of the farming of the Bridge Dues. It is quite possible that he considered that he did enough for the poor in his wife's parish of St. Olaves, Southwark (1). It is generally believed the Overseer of the Poor was an office only started after Elizabeth's Poor Law Act of 1594. But the Churchwardens of St. Margarets, Westminster, rejoice in having preserved *their Overseers' Book* of the Poor from 1561 ; and this does not seem to have been their first book. The Collections were made from street to street, but the subcriptions or donations were as voluntary as the determining impetus of the love of approbation could allow them to be. There are also early books preserved among the Churchwardens' accounts of « St. Martin's in the Fields », as well as in St. Olave's Southwark.

(1) He was himself Overseer of the Poor there at one time.

The properties he received through each of his wives seem to have vanished in the service of the Queen, in the expenses of her Children of the Chapel, and of her plays.

It is probable that the death of his second wife in 1588, was a serious financial, as well as a domestic loss.

Again Elizabeth gave him a peculiar grant, one of the kind that Sir Philip Sidney had mourned to receive, a share in the proceeds of the collection of the fines imposed upon recusants.

In the Recusant Rolls, 34 Eliza. Will. Hunnis, one of the gentlemen of the Queen's Majesty's Chapel, had still to pay £8. 17. 9 $^1/_4$, part of £30. 4. 5 per annum of rent, issuing from Branton Grange, Barrsovy Grange, Micklethwaite Grange, parcel of the lands of Anne Pavor, Widow ; a recusant (1).

He also accounts for the lands of « Alice Marten, Widow, a recusant, who owes the Queen £140 by the Act of Uniformity. One part of this has already been paid to William Hunnys ». £18. 13. 4 (2).

There is no clue to the date at which he wrote his notable will, with which interesting associations are connected.

The works of Sir Thomas More had been « printed at London at the costes and charges of John Cawood, John Waleys and Richard Tottell 1557 ». William Hunnis seems to have possessed a copy. This valuable book was presented to the Library of Trinity College, Oxford, by John Gibbon, in 1630. On the back of the title-page some verses are written, which are generally believed to be Hunnys' will, and I am inclined to accept it as genuine. The handwriting may be compared with that of the petition ; the signature with other signatures of William Hunnis in the cheque book of the Chapel Royal and the State Papers.

« My last Will and Testament.

To God my soule I do bequeathe,
because it is his owen,
My body to be layd in grave,
where to my friends best knowen.

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(1) Recusant Rolls, Yorkshire, 34 Eliza and 35 Eliza. Roll N° 1.

(2) See Rev. Joseph Hunter's *Chorus Vatum Anglicanorum*. British Museum, Add. MS. 24488.

Executors I wyll none make,
thereby great stryffe may growe,
because ye goods that I shall leave
wyll not pay all I owe ».
W. Hunnys.

We know the date of his death from « the Cheque Book of the Chapel Royal ». He passed away on the 6th of June, the month of roses, 1597. There would be « bushels of Roses » in the Greenwich Gardens then, but another man would gather them.

He left his Chapel-Boys and their training, and Nathaniel Giles, who had been « gentleman extraordinary », was sworn « gentleman ordinary », and « Master » on the 9th of the same month, as is shewn in « the Cheque Book of the Chapel Royal », and in his Patent.

In Timperley's Typographical Anecdotes p. 315, it is said that Hunnis died at *Westminster*. But there is no trace of his death or burial in the Register or Churchwarden's Books of St. Margarets, Westminster, or of Barking, or of Little Ilford, or of St. Olave's, Southwark. The Register of Greenwich, of that date, is destroyed, I cannot therefore suggest the place of his burial.

It may be only a coincidence, but it may have been intentional, that the very month after his death, a play on the character of Joseph, which had impressed Hunnis so much, was acted in Strasburg Church by its author, Gille, or Egidius Hunnius, a Lutheran doctor of Divinity. This writer is especially interesting in regard to the history of the Drama, as he is one of the rare examples at the time, of a combination of theological and dramatic interest. His complete works were edited, after his death, by his friend Dr. Helvicus Garthius. In the third volume appears an epitome of the book of Genesis, and a part of the gospel of Matthew in Latin verse. The 5th is opened by a Preface, addressed to the reader by the editor, explaining the industry of Hunnius, the discussions in which he was engaged, and the calumnies he endured. Hunnius said « It is not true that all Christian men should damn Comedies and Tragedies ». He believed that ethical inquiry could be facilitated thereby, and that representations in life would facil-

itate the understanding of the Scriptures. He referred to Luther's introduction to « Judith » and « Tobias ».

Besides two *comedies* from the Life of Joseph, Hunnius produced a *Comedy of Ruth*. In the introduction he explained his views of the value of the Drama. As early as 1584, he had written *Josephus Comœdia Sacra* in Latin verse with five acts, Prologue and Epilogue. But the play of 1597, was in German verse, with a prologue and epilogue. He also introduced the Argument of the sacred comedy of Joseph, explaining, probably for the benefit of the uneducated, the heads of the play, which ends with The Glory of Joseph. A new scene is added, to be placed before scene first, Act fifth of the Latin rendering.

Hunnius died in 1603 (1).

It may also be only a coincidence, that Nathaniel Giles, the next Master of the Children of the Chapel, had been educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, the only College at which any of the name of Hunnis, have been known to study. Nathaniel Giles was born near Worcester, matriculated in 1559 in Magdalen College, res. 1561, became B. Mus. 1585, D. Mus. 1622. He went to St. George's Chapel, Windsor, on 1st. Oct. 1595, where the Dean and Canons by deed nominated him « to be Clerk in the Chapel, and one of the players on the Organs there, and also to be Master, Instructor and Tutor, and Creansor or Governor of the ten Choristers, agreeing to give him an annuity of £81. 6. 8, and a dwelling house within the Castle, called the old Commons, where John Mundie did lately inhabit, with all appurtenances, as one Richard Farrante enjoyed the same. The stipende to be paide monthlie by the Treasurer, over and besides all other gifts, rewards or benevolences that may be given to the Choristers for singing of Ballads, Plays, or the like ; also such reasonable leave of absence as the Statutes allow, except when her Majesty shall be resident, or

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(1) Facts concerning him and his descendants may be found in L. P. Phillips' *Dictionary of Biography*. 1817. Alexander Chalmers' *General Biographical Dictionary*. 1889. Didot's *Nouvelle Biographie Universelle*, M. Michaud. 1843-66.
J. H. Rose. *New Bibliographical Dictionary*. 1857.
R. Watt. *Bibliotheca Britannica*. 1824.

an Installation or Funeral of any noble person shall be solemnized, on condition that the said Nathaniel Gyles shall procure meet and apt Choristers within the space of three months after avoidance, (Her Majesty's Commission for the taking of Children, being allowed unto him) and that he shall instruct them in singing, pricksong, and descant, and bring up such as be apt to the Instrument, and that he shall find them sufficient meat and drink, apparel, bedding and lodging, at his own costs within the New Commons lately appointed for them, and that he shall find a sufficient deputy during his times of sickness and absence (1) ».

The salary *seems* larger than that of Hunnis, but it is evident that the payment to the gentleman of the Chapel was simply added to that of the « Master of the Children ».

Mr. Bloxam states that « Giles was a learned and able musician of the old School, and composed many services and anthems for the Church, which were regarded as masterly productions. He however, like Ravenscroft, had a strong tincture of pedantry in his disposition, which inclined him to regard with more reverence than they deserved, the complicated measures, prolations, augmentations, diminutions, and other dissimilar motions of the several parts of polyphonic compositions, commonly called by the Reformers « Curious singing ». One lesson of descant exists by him composed before he took his Mus. D. « of thirty eight proportions of sundry kinds » (2). On the death of Hunnis he became Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal, and on the accession of Charles I was appointed « Organist of his Majesty's Chapel » (3) ».

Giles was essentially a *Musical* Master, rather than a dramatic leader. Nevertheless the Children under him performed several plays of well-known authors. The petition of William

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(1) Ashmolean MS. No 1125. 33.

(2) Burney's *History of Music*. Vol. III. p. 324.

(3) He died Feb. 1634 and was buried in St. Georges Chapel. There are two epitaphs over him, one is : « Pattern of patience, gravitie, devotion, Faithful to the end, now Heyre of Heaven's promotion.

Pietatis ergo Nat. Giles Filius Natu Maximus moerens posuit 2 Feb. 1634. Die cinerum versus est in cineres ».

Hunnis bore fruit in his case, and there were more liberal allowances afterwards dealt out to the children.

No contemporary monument or record of the Life or death of Master William Hunnis has been preserved, and his existence would have passed into oblivion along with his plays, had it not so strenuously interwoven itself, with the literary, political, and religious developments of the sixteenth century.

NOTE TO CHAP. I. p. 1.

Sir William Herbert, First Earl of Pembroke of the New Creation.

Sir William Herbert ap Thomas of Ragland Castle Monmouthshire, was knighted by Henry VI. for bravery in the French Wars. He married Anne, daughter of Sir Walter Devereux, Lord Ferrers of Chartley, and had three sons, William, Richard, and Thomas. William was a stout Yorkist, and from Ed. IV, for « adventuring his life against Hen. VI, Henry, Duke of Exeter, Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke (uncle of Henry of Richmond), and James, Earl of Wiltshire », he received honour after honour. On May 27th. 8 Ed. IV, 1469, he was created Earl of Pembroke. In July he marched against a Lancastrian rising in the north, with his brave and loving brother Sir Richard, was defeated by George Duke of Clarence, and Richard Neville Earl of Warwick, was carried to Northampton and beheaded there. His earnest prayer that they should spare his brother's life was not granted, but he was allowed to make his will. He made his brother Thomas and his wife executors. Among other requests he prayed — « Wyfe that ye remember your promise to me to take the order of widowhood as ye may be the better maister of your owne, to performe my wille, and to help my children, as I love and trust you ». He left four sons (1), William, Walter, George, Philip, and six daughters by his wife Anne, and a natural son Richard, by Maud, daughter and heir of Adam ap Howell Graunt of Ewyas. The legitimate heir William succeeded at nine years of age, 28th July. 9 Ed. IV (1469) to the Earldom of Pembroke ; and was in 14 Ed. IV. retained to serve the King in his wars with France and Normandy. Edward IV, wishing further to dignify his unfortunate son Edward, Prince of Wales, by making him also Earl of Pembroke, induced the youth to exchange his title for that of the Earl of Huntingdon, July 4, 1479 (2). Richard III favoured him, and offered him his daughter Catherine in marriage, who however died before arrangements were completed, and he married Mary, fifth daughter of Richard, Earl Rivers. William, 2nd Earl of Pembroke, afterwards Earl of Huntingdon, had an only daughter and heir Elizabeth, who married Charles, illegitimate son of Henry Beaufort the Duke of Somerset, to whom she carried Raglan Castle. Her husband became Lord Herbert in her right, and was afterwards created Earl

(1) Collins' Peerage iii. 118.
(2) See John Anstis. Arm. Desc. Nob. M. S. B. 21.

of Worcester. Margaret Beaufort, mother of Henry VII. was his half-sister, and the King favoured his family.

The heir male of William, 2nd Earl of Pembroke and of Huntingdon, was his brother, ancestor of Sir William Herbert of St Julian's. He settled all his property on his sole daughter Mary on condition that she married a Herbert. She married Lord Herbert of Cherbury. Lord Herbert, in his Autobiography, says, « The younger sons of the said Earl of Pembroke, and of Sir Richard Herbert left posterity, which in the persons of my wife (heiress of St Julian's) and myself, united these houses again ». « My father was black-haired and black-bearded, as all my ancestry on his side have been ». Sir William Herbert wrote many religious books and papers; a reply to the heresies of Campion, and a poem called, « Sir William Herbert's Sidney ». He also addressed verses to Mr. W. Browne, prefixed to that author's « Brittannia's Pastorals ». He was knighted 21st Dec. 1578, and died 1593 ; and must not be confused with Sir William Herbert of Glamorgan, who matriculated at Oxford, 17th Oct. 1600, aged seventeen ; who wrote Verses on the funeral of Queen Elizabeth and « the Prophecy of Cadwallader », dedicated to Sir Philip Herbert. But the Sir William Herbert of the text eclipsed them all. His father was Sir Richard Herbert of Ewyas, the illegitimate son of William, the first Earl of Pembroke of that creation, and of Maud, daughter and heir of Adam ap Howell Graunt. Sir Richard Herbert married Margaret, daughter of Sir William Cradocke of Swansea, and had, besides his eldest son, William, two other sons, George and Thomas. William is believed by Dugdale (1), and by Hoare (2), to have been born in 1506. But a portrait at Wilton states that he was 66 years of age in 1567. The Dictionary of National Biography prefers therefore the date of 1501. The difference is of importance in deciding his age on receiving the various offices. He began life probably as a page. Aubrey says (3) : « Tis certaine he was a servant to the House of Worcester, and wore their blew coat and badge. He was a mad, fighting young fellow ». He took part in a quarrel in Bristol on Midsummer's Eve, 1527, between some Welshmen and the watchman, and a few days afterwards he was arrested, and killed one of the Sheriffs on account of « a want of some respect of compliment ». He fled to France, entered the French army, distinguished himself by his courage and wit, and was brought to the favourable notice of the French King. His Majesty of France recommended him to his Cousin of England, by whom he was apparently pardoned for the murder, as nothing more is heard of it. « The story was fresh when I was in Bristol », says Aubrey, « and he was still called Black Will Herbert ». He also says that in 28 Henry VIII,

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(1) Baronage, 256.

(2) Hoare's *Wiltshire*.

Sir R. C. Hoare's account of Wilton. Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine.

(3) Dr William Aubrey was in the Service of the Earl of Pembroke, and his story would be sure to be a family tradition.

Aubrey. *Lives*. Vol. 3, p. 478.

1537, in consideration of services rendered, he had an annuity of £46, 3, 4, granted him (1).

He was among those appointed by Henry VIII to receive the Lady Anne of Clèves, but though associated with Cromwell in advancing the King's fourth marriage, he was not wrecked with his patron on account of it. In 1542 Herbert was granted the Abbey and Lands of the great Convent of Wilton, whose Abbesses had ranked with the highest and sat among the peers. Herbert destroyed the monastery, and rebuilt Wilton House, glorified by Holbein. He was fortunate in his marriage to Anne Parr, daughter of Sir Thomas Parr, whose brother William became Marquis Northampton. After Henry VIII 's marriage to her sister, Catherine Parr, Lady Latimer, 12th July, 1543, his fortunes rapidly advanced. He was knighted in that year, and was made Captain of the Castle and Town of Aberystwith, Jan. 24, 1543-4, and Keeper of Carmarthen Castle. Three days afterwards he had a license to retain thirty persons at his will and pleasure, over and above such persons as attended on him, and to give them his livery, badge, and cognizance (2). In 1544 he secured a renewed grant to himself along with his wife, of the Abbey of Wilton, and of divers other lands in the Counties of Wiltshire, Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall. On the 27th April, 1546, he received from the King the Keeping of Baynard's Castle, near Paul's Wharf, « part of the possessions of the Lady Katherine Queen of England.... like as the same has always been reserved to the Queens of the Realme for their lodging, when it hath pleased them to repair to the same, with the gardens, courts, grounds, edifices, buildings and other appurtenances ». He was also made steward of much Royal property elsewhere, and became owner of Cardiff Castle. In the same year he was appointed one of the chief gentlemen of the King's Privy Chamber (3) ; one of the Royal Council ; one of the executors of the King's Will, one of the Legatees thereof to the amount of £300 ; and one of the Council appointed to guard the young King.

He and Sir Anthony Denny were the only two mourners carried in the Funeral Chariot with the Royal Corpse in 1547, when the noblest of the land heard the Solemn Roman Catholic Mass chanted over the remains of him who had uprooted Roman Catholicism (4).

Herbert was much in evidence as one of the Council of Guardianship and Government. Aubrey (5) tells us that « there was a great feud between Lord Sturton of Sturton and Sir William Herbert of Wilton, who was altogether a stranger in the west, and from a private gentleman of no estate, a soldier of fortune at the dissolution of the abbeys,

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(1) See Brewer's State Papers, also Chronicles of Calais, also Papers of Henry VIII. uncalendared W. 4.

(2) See « Some Notice of William Herbert, First Earl of Pembroke of the present creation ». F. E. Nightingale, 1878.

(3) Sandford's *Genealogical History*. Collin's *Peerage* vol. III. p. 118.

(4) State Papers, Dom. Ser I. Ed. VI.

(5) Aubrey's *Wiltshire*. p. 263.

in a few years from nothing he slipt into a prodigious estate of Church's lands. Lord Sturton used to ride by Sarum or Wilton sounding his trumpets and giving reproachful challenges, a relique of Knight errantry ». It is recorded by Sir Henry Spelman (1) that Lord Sturton received his punishment for sharing in the plunder of the church lands when in 1565 he was hanged at Salisbury for the murder of the Hartgills. But Spelman has no page to record the fate of Sturton's fellow-sinner. Herbert showed no sign of repentance or restitution, but went from glory to glory. Six months after Henry's death he received North Newton and Hulcott, « for the fulfilling of a determination made by Henry VIII in his last will ». He was a favourite with his fellow-councillors, as well as with Edward VI. and with the people. He agreed to the election of the young King's uncle as Lord Protector, and at first was one of his party, but Earl Warwick was astute enough later to detach him. Early in Edward's reign he went to Wales, and by his interest and prudence prevented a rising there. By his prompt action he also suppressed an insurrection in Wiltshire and Somersetshire, and another in Devonshire and Cornwall. He was made Master of the Horse in reward. Herbert was elected a Knight Companion of the Garter, Dec. 1548, and installed on Dec. 13th.

When the Lord Admiral Seymour married his sister-in-law Catherine the Queen, jealousies arose, not only in domestic relations with the Protector's wife, but in the Council. This was speedily followed by the Queen's death and Lord Seymour's execution, 9th March 1548-9.

The correspondence of the Council with Sir William Herbert (2), and directions as to the raising of troops to fight the rebels, July 23rd. 1549, are preserved in the State Papers, and also the correpondence on Oct. 8th. and 9th. just before the first arrest of Somerset on 11th October 1549. In order to ensure promptness Herbert had used his own supplies, as did other Lords of the Council. Therefore on October 28th, 1549, a warrant was addressed to the Master of the Mint, stating that « whereas the well-beloved Councillor, Sir William Herbert, in suppression of the Rebels, had not only spent the great part of his plate and substance, but had borrowed great sums of money, for which he remained indebted, the officers of the Mint might receive at his hands two thousand pounds weight in bullion to be coined and printed into current money, according to the etablished standard, and

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(1) Spelman's *History of Sacrilege.*

In the acts of the Privy Council, 14th Jan. 1536: « Lord Sturton to hand over William Hartegill & John Hartegill felons, to the Sheriff of Somersetshire and to declare his own doings ». 1st March 1556, « the Lieutenant of the Tower to send Lord Sturton to the Sheriff of Wiltshire to be tried for murdering the Hartegilles ». 14th March 1556 « Lord Sturton's case ». He was hanged for the murder on 19th Dec. 1556, and four of his servants also on Jan. 1556-7.

(2) State Papers. Dom. Ser. Ed. IV, iii, 64. 1549. July 23. Council to Sir William Herbert with directions as to raising troops to serve them against the rebels. Oct. 8th. 9th. Correspondence between Lord Russel, Sir William Herbert and Council. Oct. 11th. Arrest of Somerset. 16th April 1556. Somerset restored to Council.

deliver to Sir William Herbert with all such profits as would otherwise have gone to the crown, after deducting the expenses of coining ». The profit was £6709. 19s. An incident in the next reign makes me surmise that William Hunnis was one of those sent in charge of this bullion to the Mint (1). On the 8th April 1559 Herbert was appointed Lord President of the Marches of Wales ; and on the 9th July he took part in the examination of Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester. Somerset's examination took plare on 2nd January 1349-50 ; on the 14th he was deposed from the Protectorate; on 6th February released ; on the 18th, formally pardoned, and reconciled to Warwick; and restored to the Council in April 1550. Lady Anne Seymour was married to Lord Ambrose Dudley, 3rd of June 1550, while on the 4th, Lord Robert Dudley married Anne, the unfortunate daughter of Sir John Robsart. The reconciliation patched up, did not last. Somerset was again getting into trouble. On October 18th, 1550, the old Lady Seymour died, the Duke of Somerset's mother and the King's grandmother, and the Council refused public mourning or a State funeral. In April, 1551, Somerset made a new attempt to gain Herbert, but by this time he had definitely sided with Warwick and Northampton. It was probably to display their power as members of the Council, that they lavished new honours upon each other. Sir William Herbert was created Baron Herbert of Cardiff on the 10th October, 1551, « for his great services to the King », and the next day was created the Earl of Pembroke, on the same day that Henry Grey, husband of Frances Brandon, was created Duke of Suffolk (2) ; John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, became the Duke of Northumberland ; and Sir William Paulet, Marquis of Winchester. More magnificent ceremonial than usual was displayed at Hampton Court to celebrate the event. « Thereafter they dined together in that order, and on the other side, the Duke of Somerset and the other Lords, the Marquis of Northampton, the Earl of Rutland, the Lord Cobham, the Lord Fitzwalter, and the Lord Thomas Howard ». « At the same time, Sir William Cecil, Sir John Cheke, Sir Henry Sidney (3) and Sir Henry Neville were made Knights ». On that day that strange group of history-making men, took their last seemingly friendly meal together. On the 15th October, Somerset was again committed to the Tower with his friends. Strype (4) speaks of the « conspiracy of the Duke of Somerset, wherein it was pretended that the Earl of Pembroke, together with the Duke of Northumberland, and the Marquis of Northampton his brother-in-law should have been assassinated, whereby he became linked with these two overtopping men ».

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(1) See page 85.

(2) Mary, Duchess of Suffolk, Henry's sister, had died before her brother. Her husband died in 1551 ; and his two sons died July 16th, 1551, in the same bed, of sweating sickness. Katherine Willoughby d'Eresby his second wife, when his widow, married Mr Bartie.

(3) State Papers, Dom. Series Ed. VI. XIII. Oct. 11, 1551.

(4) Strype's *Memorials of the Reformation*. Vol. ii. pt. 2. p. 74.

In this same year the Queen Dowager of Scotland, returning from France paid a visit to Edward VI. She was tenderly received, and was lodged at Baynard's Castle, under the charge of Pembroke. When she left London on November the 1st, she was attended on her way « by the Duke of Northumberland and the Earl of Pembroke, followed by more than a hundred gentlemen well-mounted and richly dressed in coats guarded with velvet, wearing chains and hats with white feathers » (1). On Dec. 1st of the same year Pembroke sat, with six other peers, on the Trial of Somerset (2), and death was decreed to the Protector, Michael Stanhope, Sir Thomas Arundel, Sir Ralph Fane and others. Pembroke secured mores riches from the forfeited estates than any of his colleagues, receiving Somerset's Wiltshire estate, including Ramsbury, some of the lands of the Arundels, and others of the See of Winchester (3).

He was summoned to Parliament by his new title on the 23rd January 1551-2. 5. Ed. VI. His first wife Anne Parr, died early next year, and on the 28th February 1551-2 she was magnificently interred in St. Paul's — « There came the mourners both Lords and Knights and gentlemen, also Lady and gentlewomen mourners to the number of two hundred ». She left two sons, Henry, afterwards Earl of Pembroke, and Sir Edmund Herbert; and a daughter, Anne, Lady Talbot, wife of the 6th Earl of Shrewbury. Pembroke's second wife was Anne, sixth daughter of George Talbot, 4th Earl of Shrewsbury, but she had no children.

Several Lords having agreed to keep a body of armed men ready for emergencies, the number Pembroke retained exceeded any other. On May 16th. 1552, he mustered an army of his retainers in Greenwich Park, clothed in his own livery and wearing his arms. On the 17th February following, he rode to Baynard's Castle with three hundred horsemen in his train, of whom one hundred were gentlemen in plain blue cloth, with chains of gold about their necks, and the Pembroke Dragon on their sleeves (4).

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(1) Holinshed, *Scotland* p. 329. ed. 1585.

(2) Declared accounts, Pipe Office. Charges in the Tower. Accounts, I Mary for last years of Ed. VI. 2960-1. Diet of prisoners executed — « For the diet of Edwarde Duke of Somerset, from laste of Oct. 5 Ed. VI till 22nd Jan., being 12 weeks at 100s. the week, and for the diet of 4 of the king's servants attending him 40s. the week, and for fewel and candles 20s. the week...

The Duchess of Somerset from last October till the 1st November following one whole year at 100s. the week.... with gentlewomen attendant. Sir Ralph Vayne from last Oct. till 25th Feb. 17 weeks lacking one day, at 40/ the week. Sir Thomas Arundel during said time at 26/8 the week. (Discharged).

(3) See Patent Rolls. 6 Ed. VI. part 7th May.

(4) His arms were Party per pale Azure and Gules, 3 lions rampant Argent, Crest on a wreath, a Wyvern with wings elevated vert, holding in his mouth a sinister hand couped at the wrist, gules coroneted on his throat. Hoare's *Hist. Wiltshire.*

In June he went with Edward VI. on his last progress, and on August 28, 1552 he received him at his own house of Wilton. The remainder of this nobleman's story is told in the text.

NOTE TO CHAPTER I. (2), p. 9.

The Court of Venus.

Everyone who rendered the metrical Versions of passages of scripture, prefaced his work by an explanation that he had done so in order to replace the foul and corrupt ballads of the day. But no one is so clear and explicit as Dr. John Hall of Maidstone, who in the Preface to his « Proverbs and Psalms » declaims against the popular Song-Book, « The court of Venus ». He probably also wrote about the same time another book, called « The Court of Vertue », not published until some time after, (1565). In it he supposes he had a vision in which the Lady Virtue shewed him how he could help her by collecting Christian hymns for men to sing, instead of

« A Booke also of songes they have
And Venus Court they do it name ».

He shews that the Muses of the Christian poet are Virtues, such as Temperance. Constancy etc, (It may be remembered that Edward VI, called Elizabeth, « his sweet sister Temperance »).

There is only one complete book now bearing the title of « The Court of Venus », by John Rolland of Dalkeith, printed at Edinburgh 1575 ; but that cannot possibly be the one referred to.

It is curious that Bale in 1549 should have attributed the « Court of Venus » to *Chaucer*, but it bears internal evidence to the contrary. None of its critics however, allude to its authorship, it probably being a « Miscellany ».

There are two fragments, one of the first sheet of an English book bearing the name, in the Christy Miller Library at Britwell ; and the Douce fragment, neither of them worthy of reprobation.

The Bright fragment at Britwell contains the title page, Prologue, eleven lyrics and part of a twelfth (Blackletter). It is entitled « The Courte of Venus, newely and diligently corrected, with many proper ballads newely amended and also added thereunto which have not before bene imprinted ». No date, place, or name of printer. But in the Stationer's Registers we find it was « allowed to Henry Sutton, 1557 ».

On making a carefnl study of the fragments, I found that several of the lyrics were by Sir Thomas Wyat, and appear among his poems. So it is possible that he also, attempted to provide for the people a set of new and improved songs. The Douce fragment, contains only one whole lyric, part of another, and « the Pilgrim's Tale » also ascribed to Chaucer by Bale in error, at the same time. But his references are important, as shewing both of these issues were known *before 1540*.

In 1566-7 was allowed to Hewgh Singleton « The Court of Venus moralized, by Thomas Bryce 4d, ».

Thomas Becon in his book on « Matrimony » (probably written in

Edward's reign) speaks of « filthy bookes unto the corruption of the readers, as The Court of Venus and such like ». It seemed to have been extant at the close of the Sixteenth Century at least. In T. Nash's « Anatomie of Absurditie » 1589, « What els I pray you do these bable Bookmongers endevor but to repaire the ruinous walls of Venus' Court, to restore to the world that forgotten legendary licence of lying ». In an address prefixed to Nicholas Breton's « Pilgrimage to Paradise » and the « Countesse of Pembroke's Love » 1591, Dr John Case addresses the author « it is a needless thing, (friend Breton) in these our days, to revive the old art of loving, seeing there are so many palaces of Pleasure, so many pamphlets, or rather huge volume of wanton love end dalliance ».

NOTE TO CHAP. II. p. 23.

I have found my supposition correct concerning the appointment of Richard Edwards. In the Lord Chamberlain's Books, Ser. 1. No. III. is a list of those who are to receive liveries for the Coronation of Elizabeth, among which are the gentleman of the Chapel. Richard Edwards is included, but William Hunnis is not. This would suggest that his imprisonment lasted till the end of the reign of Mary, and that he had not by that time been fully re-instated.

NOTE TO CHAP. III. (1) page 32.

Harl. 35 (35) f. 364. A true coppi of the counterfet wylle supposed to be the last will and testament of King Edward VI., forged and published under the Greate Seale of Englande, by the confederacie of the Dukes of Suffolke and Northumberland on behalf of the lady Jane, eldest daughter to the said duke of Suffolk, and testified with the handes of 101 of the Chiefe of the Nobilitie and Principall Men of note in this Kingdom 21 June 1553.

« Notwithstanding that in the time of our late deare father in the 35th yeare of his Raigne ther was then one Estatute made entitled an Acte concernynge the Establishement of the King's Majesties succession if the King and us the heir apparent should decease without heires, the crown and premises should go to the Lady Mary and the heires of her body, and in default of such issue to the Lady Elizabeth. Forasmuch as this limitation to Lady Mary and Lady Elizabeth, being illegitimate and not lawfully begotten, as the marriage had between our late father and the Lady Katharine was clearly and lawfully undone by the divorce, according to ecclesiastical lawes ; and likewise the marriage had between our late father and the Lady Anne, was cleerly and lawfully undone by ecclesiastical lawes ; which divorces ratified by acts of Parliament still in force, therefore the Ladie Marie and the Ladie Elizabethe are clearly disabled to challenge the imperiall crowne ; by the antient lawes they be not inheritable unto us, being but of half blood, even though they were legitimate, which they are not. Also if either should have the crown, and marry a stranger borne

out of the realme, and he woold have power in his hand, he would naturally have the lawes and customes of his own country rather than of this. Therefore in consideration of the common weal, and divers other consideracions we have often in time of our helthe as of our sickness considered within ourself about the succession when it should please God to call us out of this transitory life, we having no heires; and calling to remembrance that the Lady Jane, the Lady Katherine and the Ladie Marie, daughters of our entirely beloved cousin the Ladie Fraunces, duchess of Suffolk, and the Ladie Margaret, daughter to our late cousin the Ladie Ellenore deceased, sister to Ladie Fraunces and wife to the Earl of Cumberland, be very nighe of our whole bloud, and being natural borne in the land and very honourably brought up and exercised in good and godly lerning and other noble vertues, therefore taking good deliberacion and advice, we do declare, order, assigne, and limmit, and appointe that the Imperial crowne, shall, for lacke of heires of our owne bodie, remayne unto the eldest sonne of the bodie of the Ladie Frances, and for lacke of heires male of her bodie, to Lady Jane the eldest daughter, and to the heires male of her bodie, and after her to the Lady Katherine, and the Lady Marie and their heires male, the age of eighteen being majority, and the mother of the heir to be regent; though all matters of importance to be opened to him from the age of 14 years. And in support of this our true intention ratified by acte of Parliament are the witnesses following » 101 in all. Arch. Cant. Bp. Ely and Winchester. D. Northumberland, Bedford, Suffolk, Northampton, Arundell, Oxyforde, Westmerland, Shrewsbery, Warwick, Worcester, Huntingdon, Pembroke, Clinton, William Petre, W. Cecil, John Cheeke. Ed. Mountague, Ric. Sakvyle, William Paget, Henry Sidney, Antony Brown, and George Barne, Mayor, and the Corporation &c.

NOTE TO CHAP. IV. (1). p. 54.

Henrie Theighte's last Will. Uncalendered MSS. Hen. VIII. $\frac{\text{B. B.}}{251}$ Another copy $\frac{\text{B. B.}}{183}$

Also Add. MS. 4712, (29). Brit. Mus.

Henry's Protestantism apparently regarded rather the government than the creed, for he says therein;

« Also do we instantly require and desire the blessed Virgine Marie His mother withall, the holie companie of Heaven, continually to pray for us, and with us, whiles we live here in this world, and in the tyme of passing out of the same, that we may the sooner attain to everlasting life after our departure out of this transitory life » « our bodie to be buried in the Quire of our College of Windsor »....« in an honourable tombe which is well onward, and almost made therefore alredie. » « we also will that the bones and bodie of our true and loving wife Queene Jane be putt also thereby » « and the service, placebo and dirge with a sermon and masse on the morowe, at our charges » « also after our decease yerely fower solemn Obits for us within the said College of Windsor ».

The settlement of the inheritance was the great intention of the will; and its was of course arranged that Edward should succeed, and his lawfull heirs, « then the crown after our two deceases shall come to the heyres of the bodie lawfully begotten of our entirely beloved wyfe and Queene Katherine that now is, or of any other lawfull wife we shall hereafter marrie ». After these « to our daughter Mary and her lawful heyres » « upon condicioun that our said daughter Marie after our decease shall not marry nor take any person to her husband without the assent and consent of the privie councillors and others appointed by us to our dearest son prince Edward aforesaid to be of the Councille before the sayd marriage, had in writing sealed with their seales. And yf it fortune oure said daughter Marie to dye without issue of her bodie lawfully begotten, we will that after our decease » « the sayd imperiall crowne shall come to our saide daughter Elizabeth, and to her heires under the same condiciouns ». Failing these, « to the heires of the body of the Lady Fraunces, eldest daughter to our sister the French Queene lawfully begotten, failing whom to the heires of the Lady Elinor, next second daughter to our sayd late sister the French Queen, lawfully begotten » failing whom « it shall wholly remain and come to the *next rightfull heires* ». « Also we will that if our said daughter Marie do marrie without the consent and agreement of the privie counsellors or shall do aught to subvert the religion of the realm that then and from henceforth for lack of heires of the severall bodies of us and of our sonne prince Edward, lawfully begotten, the saide imperiall crowne shall wholely remaine, be, and come, to our said daughter Elizabeth, and to theires of her bodie, lawfully begotten in such manner and forme, as though our said daughter Marie were then deade, without any issue of her bodie ». The same test was to be applied to Elizabeth, failing whom the heirs of the Lady Frances were to succeed as if Elizabeth were dead. His eldest sister Margaret was never mentioned, except inclusively as among « his rightful heirs. The Executors were all to be « of the privy council of our son Edward in private affairs and public affairs » « willing them that *none of them presume to meddle with any of our treasure*», « unless all consent in writing » « willing further that Sir Edmund Peckham our Trustee, servant, and cofferer of our house shall be Treasurer, and have the Receipt and laying out of all such treasure and money as shall be defrayed by our executors ». All his possessions were left to Edward, who was also advised to be ordered in his marriage, and in all else by his counsel. A sub-counsel was arranged in case of need, to advise with the first. Henry then gave directions as to the dowry of Mary and Elizabeth should they « be married to any outward potentate » « willing them on my blessing to be ordered, as well in marriage, as in other lawful things, by the advice of my council ». Among his legacies, he left £3000 in plate and jewels to Queen Katharine and £1000 in monney, extra to her jointure. To Sir William Herbert £300. To Sir Thomas Cawarden £200. To Sir Edmund Peckham £200 ». Drawn up and attested and stamped at Westminster, 30th Dec.

Henry died the 16th Jan. following, 1546-7.

As by this will Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, whom Mary was burning as a heretic, was at the head of the Council; as the Viscount Lisle (afterwards Duke of Northumberland) she had executed as a traitor; as the Duke of Somerset and his brother had been executed in the previous reign; and as many of the remaining Councillors were against the Spanish marriage, Mary might well feel that a strict legal appeal to her father's will might be construed as treasonable. She certainly had subverted the religion of her father in reconciling the land to the Pope.

With this should be read an article in Manuscript at the British Museum. « A discourse uppon certeyn poyntes touchinge the Enheritance of the Crowne. conceaved by Sir Anthonie Browne, Justice, and answered by Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Chauncellor of Englande, as hereafter followeth (Harl. MS. 537. f. 50).

« Hen. VII had Henry VIII, Margaret (who married 1st, James IV, King of Scotland, 2nd, the Earl of Angus); Mary, (who married 1st, Lewis, the French King, no issue, then Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk). They had issue, the Lady Frances and the Lady Elinor. The Lady Frances married the Marquis Dorset, by whom she had issue the Lady Jane, the Lady Katherine, and the Lady Mary. The Lady Elinor married the Earl of Cumberland and had issue the Lady Margaret, now wife to the Lord Strange. The Statute of King Hen.VIII settled the crown on Edward, Mary, Elizabeth, and failing them on any one the King pleased; by will he mentioned his sister Mary.

« Some complain there is no will because it is not signed by His Majestyes Hand. But it was written with his own fingers. There was a special statute made before to declare that the Bishop of Rome had no authorytie in this realme; and chiefly upon this cause, for that King Hen. VIII, seeing his daughter Marie's stubborness and malyce to his doinges and fond devocion to the pope, ment that if she shoulde at any tyme come to the throne, she shoulde not, if she would, undoe that hee had done » etc. The statute of 28. Hen. VIII. was to keep a lawfull ruler in the land.

« And therefore he left the crown first after his two daughters to the heires of the Lady Frances, and then of the Lady Elinor, suche as hee loved, and had no cause to hate. The Heires of the Scottish Queen he hadd no cause to love.

« If not signed by his hand, it is not a counterfeited will; and it was enroled in Chauncery by Edward the Sixth and the great seale affixed. Is it reason because the originall, nor anie recorde thereof appeareth, the right of those in remainder should be loste » (Bacon cites cases in point). « *There be no recorde of King Henrie 8ths Will*, yet there be some constates and copies, and memories that the remainder was decreed to the Lady Frances and the Lady Elinor ». « The Will was defaced and destroyed in Queen Maries tyme, as ye common report goeth, and it must needes be ye counsail soe wise and soe learned men as then bare the Swaye of the Realme, would not doe it for naughte. Was it because Queen Marie would not satisfy the bequests and legacies therein mentioned? That cannot be, for all were largely paid and

satisfied to the utmost before her time. It was not because of her objections to « masses and obits ». Was it because they tendered Hen. VIII's honour that his will and his life were contrary ? They laboured to undoe all that he had done : to deface and dishonour him in everythinge and as some think, also burnt his bones (1).

« Was it because it thwarted Mary's affections? None were so pliable to her will as the executors. Was it to defeate Elizabethe of the crowne ? No, for she claymeth, not by will, but by statute. « *Bothe the Will and the recorde is destroyed* », because they knew the will to be lawful, and noe other way to deprive the heires of the Lady Frances. If they esteemed themselves wyse it would be deadly synne, Will Sommers would never doe anything without a *reason*. If they had honestly thought it lawful, why did they not publishe it at Paules Crosse, or declare by Parliament. It is strange no witness could be found. There were 10 honest witnesses to the Will, though unsigned, and they *proved the will*. It must only have been done to destroy the succession. He loved not the Scottish Queen, nor the Lady Lennox. It will be a verie hard matter to prove that he did not sign it ».

CHAP. IV. NOTE 2. p. 58.

Juego de Cañas.

Giovanne Michiel, the Ambassador, wrote to the Doge and Senate, 26th March 1555 : « In the afternoon they made the joust destined for the close of the Carnival bearing themselves bravely, as did the King and all the other jousters, in number twenty, both with regard to their liveries and tilting ; *all ending well* and causing great pleasure and consolation, especially to the Queen, who however could not conceal her fear and disquiétude about the King, sending to pray him, having done his duty and run many courses, not to encounter further risks ». 29th April 1555 : « King Philip honoured Lord Henry Maltravers, son of the Earl of Arundel, and Lord Fitzwalter, by being present at their weddings. At Fitzwalter's wedding, which was solemnised at the Court, his Majesty in person, as a mark of greater honour took part with many other gentlemen, at a tourney on foot, and armed himself and fought like the others. By such demonstrations he from day to day, gains the good will of all ». (See the Venetian State Papers. Cal. 1555).

« [Thenot.] Collen ! I once the famous Spain did see,
A nation glorious for her gravitie,
Yet there an hundred knights on warlike steeds
Did skirmish out a fight armed but with reeds,
At which a thousand ladies' eies did gaze ;
Yet was no better than our prison-base.
What is the Barriers but a courtly way
Of our more downe-right sport, the Cudgell-Play ?
Annalia Dubrensis, or The Cotswold Sports ». 1636.

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(1) This reply to the objectors, who had evidently wished to advance the claim of the Scottish Queen is logical, and calm enough, except in this sentence which is untrue.

CHAP. IV. NOTE 3. p. 66.

Queen Mary's Will.

« The Will of Mary the Queen » written with her own hand is in the possession of Mr. Hales of Alderley, Gloucestershire. See also Add. M. S. 32,091. British Museum. She expected a child and revoked all former Testaments. Her body was to be buried at Windsor or Westminster, at the discretion of her executors, with forms suitable to her estate and Holy Church, and the body of her mother, Queen Katharine, now lying at Peterborough, should be brought and laid by her. A large number of legacies were left to the Church and to the poor, to poor scholars and old soldiers and her personal servants. All debts to be paid of her own, of her father, and her brother. Lands to be restored to the clergy by permission of her Lord and Husband, and the advice of her cousin Archbishop Pole, whom she asks to finish the good work she has begun. Everything was to descend to the heirs of her bodye « under the tutelage of my Lord and husband », who was to be executor, leaving him jewels. etc. She ordained her councillors also executors, and left them legacies. She added as assistants, « For my great faith in Sir Thomas Cornwallis, Sir Henry Jernegan, Mr. Boxall, chief Secretary, Sir Edward Waldegrave, Sir Francis Englefield ».

Witnessed by Henry Bedingfield, John Throgmorton, Thomas Wharton, R. Wilbraham.

To this she adds a codicil 28th Oct. 1558, saying sadly that as she had no child, and may have none, her dear husband by statute may have no power in the land ; but she entreats him to have a care of it, and of her successor, to try to keep the land in the ancient faith. She never mentions Elizabeth, and does not name her successor (1). Witnessed by Edward Peckham, Thomas Wendye, John Willis, Barnard Hampton.

Signed Marye the Queen.

CHAP. IV. NOTE 4. p. 66.

In « The Crown Garland of Golden Roses ». ed. 1659, at p. 69 appears one little-known poem, « To the Tune of ' Crimson Velvet ', The » Lamentable complaint of Queen Mary, for the unkind departure » of King Philip, in whose absence she fell sick and died » :

» Mary doth complain,
» Ladies, be you moved
» With my lamentations, and my bitter groans ».

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(1) She always considered Mary, Queen of Scots, her just and lawful heir.

CHAP. VII. NOTE I. p. 112.

Patent Roll. No. 658. m. 25.

[Translation. Made for me of a grant for] Nicholas Brigham for term of his life.

36 Hen. VIII. p. 19.

1540

The King to all those whom, etc, greeting, Whereas we by our letters patent bearing date at Westminster, the twenty fourth day of July in the thirty second year of our reign, gave and granted to Richard Warner the office of one of the tellers of the receipt of our Exchequer, And by these presents made appointed and deputed the said Richard Warner in the aforesaid office of one of the tellers of our Exchequer aforesaid, And by these presents gave to the same Richard Warner the wages rewards and raiment to the same office from old time due and accustomed to have, hold, enjoy, exercise, and occupy, the aforesaid office, also yearly to receive the aforesaid wages fees rewards and raiment to the aforesaid Richard Warner during his life by the hands of our treasurers and our chamberlains at the receipt of our Exchequer aforesaid for the time being at the terms there usual and accustomed, by equal portions together with all other profits commodities and advantages to the same office in any wise belonging or appertaining in as ample manner and form as any other teller or tellers of the aforesaid receipt of our Exchequer had and received of the exercise of the same office in and for the exercise thereof as in our aforesaid letters patent more fully appears KNOW YE that we for certain causes and considerations us especially moving, of our special grace and by our certain knowledge and mere motion have granted and by these presents do give and grant to our beloved subject Nicholas Brygham gentleman the aforesaid office of one of the tellers of the receipt of our Exchequer aforesaid and do likewise by these presents give to the same Nicholas Brygham the fees wages rewards and raiment from old time to the same office due and accustomed To have enjoy exercise and occupy the office aforesaid fees wages rewards and raiment to the aforesaid Nicholas Brygham for term of his life immediately after the death forfeiture or surrender of letters patent of the aforesaid Richard Warner or in what other manner soever the said office shall first and next happen to become vacant by the hands of our treasurer and our chamberlains for the time being at the receipt of our Exchequer aforesaid at the terms there usual and accustomed by equal portions together with all other profits commodities and advantages to the same office in any wise appertaining or belonging in as ample manner and form as Richard Warner or any other teller or tellers of the receipt of our aforesaid Exchequer had and received for the exercise of the same office in and for the exercise thereof.

Witness the King at Westminster the 29th day of June 1544.

By writ of privy seal and of the date aforesaid etc.

CHAP. VII. NOTE (2). p. 113.

Auditors' Patent Book.

[Translation.] Vol. VIII. (p. 203).

Letters patent of Nicholas Brigham.

Michaelmas term in the 5th and 6th years of the reigns of King Philip and Queen Mary.

Philip and Mary by the grace of God &c. To all to whom the present letters shall come greeting, Where-

[1558.] as by our letters patent bearing date at Westminster the 23rd day of May in the 4th and 5th years of our reigns in consideration of the good and faithful service as well to the most dear father and brother of us the aforesaid Queen, already rendered, and to us in future to be rendered by our beloved subject, Nicholas Brigham, one of the Tellers of the Receipt of the Exchequer we had given and granted for us, the heirs and successors of us the aforesaid Queen to the same Nicholas Brigham a certain annuity or yearly rent of fifty pounds of lawful money of England to have and yearly receive the said annuity or yearly rent of £50 by the year to the aforesaid Nicholas Brigham and his assigns during the natural life of the said Nicholas at the receipt of our Exchequer and of the heirs and successors of us the aforesaid Queen by the hands of the Treasurers and Chamberlains of the Queen of our Treasure happening to remain in their hands from time to time from the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary then last past at the four terms of the year,..... by equal portions yearly to be paid, the first payment thereof at the feast of St. John the Baptist then next ensuing after the date of the said letters patent as in the same letters patent is more fully contained which same letters patent the said Nicholas Brigham surrendered to us in our Chancery to be cancelled and the same are now cancelled with intention that we would deign to grant other our letters patent to the same Nicholas Brigham and to Margaret his wife in the form following KNOW YE therefore that we of our special grace by our certain knowledge and mere motion also for divers other good reasonable causes and considerations in this behalf specially moving us have given and granted and by these present for us the heirs and successors of us the aforesaid Queen do give and grant to the said Nicholas Brigham and Margaret his wife a certain annuity or yearly rent of fifty pounds of good and lawful money of England To have and receive yearly the same annuity or yearly rent of fifty pounds by the year to the aforesaid Nicholas Brigham and Margaret his wife and their assigns during the natural life of the said Nicholas and Margaret and either of them the longer living at the receipt of our Exchequer of the heirs and successors of us the said Queen by the hands of the treasurers and chamberlains of us and of the heirs and successors of us the aforesaid Queen of our treasure happening from time to time to remain in their hands from the feast of the Nativity of St. John the

Baptist last past at the four terms of the year, &c. by equal portions yearly, to be paid, the first payment to begin at the feast of St. Michael the Archangel next to come after the date of these presents so that express mention of the true yearly value or of the certitude of the premises or of any of them or of other gifts or grants by us or by any progenitors of us the aforesaid Queen before these times made to the aforesaid Nicholas Brigham and Margaret his wife be not made in these present, any statute act ordinance provision proclamation or restriction to the contrary thereof before this time published made or provided or any other thing cause or matter whatsoever in any wise notwithstanding. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters patent to be made. Witness ourselves at Richmond the fourteenth day of August in the fifth and sixth years of our reigns.

Adams.

NOTE. CHAP. VII. (3), p. 115.

The will of Nicholas Brigham. Armiger. (52. Chaynay.)

« In the name of God. Amen. In the moneths of September, October, November, December, in the year of our Lorde God, a thousand five hundred fiftie and eighte, or in one of the same monethes, Nicholas Brigham, of the Citie of Westminster, Esquyer, being sicke in bodye yet holle and perfite of mynde, made, ordeyned, and constituted his last will and testament nuncupative, in maner and forme following. That is to say he gave and bequeathed his sowle unto thandes of Almighty God and his bodie to be buryed in Christian buryall. Item he willed and bequeathed all his goods moveable and unmoveable unto Margaret his well-beloved wife, The Quenes grace being furst answered of suche dettes as shalbe founde due unto her, These being privye and seyinge the premysses, Doctor Hadon (1) and Mr Fellton and Mr Mody with other ». « On 20th Feb. 1558-9, Margaret Brigham, widow, appeared personallv, and shewing an inventory was granted administration of the goods of the defunct. Court of the Dean of Westminster [Administrations. Bracy 272].

A note states that on the fourth day of the month of November, 1559, powers of administration were granted to William Hunnis, husband, and executor of the last will of Margaret Brigham, formerly wife of the said Nicholas Brigham defunct, by Thomas Willott, sworn his proxy.

Having discussed the matter with Walter Haddon, Doctor of the Learned Laws, the officials of the prerogative court of Canterbury, granted administration of the goods of Nicholas Brigham, to William Hunnis. All this is written at length after the will and administration at Somerset House.

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(1) Archdeacon of Middlesex (See Visitation of Sussex).

NOTE TO CHAP. VII. (4), p. 117.

Will of Margaret Hunnys, alias Brigham, Somerset House. (46. Chaynay).

In the name of God Amen. The second daye of June, Anno domini 1559 Margaret *Hunnis*, alias Brigham, alias Wariner, wyfe of William *Hunnys*, gentleman of the Queene's Majesty's Chappell, being sick of boddie but of good and perfecte memorie by the expresse consente and lycens of the said William Hunnys her husband, made her Testament Nuncupative, contayning her full, hole and laste will nuncupative in maner and forme following. Firste she committeth her soule to Almighty God and her bodye to the erthe. Also she willeth unto Francis Brigham, her cosen, all that her tenement and mansion house lyinge and beinge at Westminster, commonly cawled « The Almes House », to have and to holde the same, with the appurtenances thereto belonginge, to hym and to his heyres for ever. And as tochinge all and singular her goods moveables and unmoveables, chattells, rightes and debts whatsoever or wheresoever they be, she willes and bequeathes the same to the aforesaid William Hunys hir husbonde, whome she made, constituted and named of this her Testament, and last Will Nuncupative, her full and sole executor, these being the witnesses present and heringe and seeing the provisions, Hardyman Clerke, Thomas Rolfe, Robert Willot, Richard Walles and others. Proved by Thomas Willot, procurator for William Hunnis aforesaid, 12th Oct. 1559, before Mr. Walter Haddon and the usual authorities, with the full inventory sworn on the Holy Gospel. The inventory is unfortunately not preserved. But the protest of James Brigham is, as well as other facts concerning it. The petition to Parliament referred to in the text, seems, in a strange manner, to go past the Queen, being addressed : « To the right Honorable the Lordes Spirituall and Temporall and the commons assembled in this present Highe Court of Parliament ». See S. P. D. S. Addenda, Eliz. XI, 96, and my paper on this, *Athenaeum* Dec. 30th, 1905.

CHAP. X. NOTE (1), p. 150.

Two Patents to William Hunnis.

He was really appointed to the Office on 15th Nov. 1566.
See Cheque-Book of the Chapel Royal.

Auditors' Patent Books.

[Translation.] Vol. IX. (144 b)

Easter 9 Eliz. Letters patent of William Hunnys Master of the Children.

Elizabeth by the grace of God, of England France etc. To all to whom the present letters shall come greeting. Know ye that we of our special grace and by our certain knowledge and mere motion have given and granted and by these presents for us our heirs and successors do give and grant to our beloved servant William Hunnis one of the gentlemen of our Chapel Royal the office of Master of the Children of the said Chapel

of us our heirs and successors, To have, occupy, and enjoy, the office aforesaid to the said William Hunnis by himself, so long as he shall bear himself well in the same, receiving yearly for the instruction of twelve boys of our same chapel and for their convenient entertainment, clothing, and bedding, forty pounds sterling of our treasury and of our heirs and successors at the receipt of our Exchequer at Westminster by the hands of the treasurers and chamberlains of the same, for the time being, payable at the four terms of the year, to wit, at the feasts of Christmas, the Annunciation of the blessed Mary the Virgin, St. John the Baptist, and St. Michael the Archangel, by equal portions, the first payment thereof to begin at the feast of Christmas last past, together with all and all manner of other wages fees and profits, jurisdictions, authorities, privileges, commodities, rewards, and advantages, whatsoever, to that office in any wise due, appertaining, or incumbent, or henceforth to be due, or belonging, in as ample and like manner and form as Richard Edwardes now deceased, or any other had exercised or enjoyed, or ought to have had, exercised, or enjoyed, the office aforesaid. Witness myself at Westminster the 22nd day of April in the ninth year of our reign.

MARTEN.

The Privy Seal for this may be found among The Privy Seals. Ser. III. April. 9 Eliz. No. 1175. This is couched in the same words, but is dated « under our privy seal at our Palace of Westminster, the 17th day of April in our ninth year &c. ».

At the head is noted, By the Quene &c. Memorandum. That on the 22nd of April this the Great Seal of England was affixed &c.

A little further on in the same volume, there is another Patent for William Hunnis, which has not only Elizabeth's privy Seal but her privy Signature, dated the 18th of April, which differs from the others by being written in English, the reason of which may be seen to be in order that it might be read by the unlearned to whom it might be shewn.

This may be called one of the « Jurisdictions » referred to in the Patent for the Office.

The Patent to William Hunnis under The Privy Seal...

Privy Seals. Patent Rolls. 9 Eliz. Part 10. Membrane. 16.

Commission Specialis Pro William Hunnys.

Elizabeth by the Grace of God &c. To all Mayors, Sheriffes, Bayliffes, Constables, and all other our officers, greting. For that it is meet that our Chapell Royall should be furnished with Wellsinging Childern from tyme to tyme, We have, and by these presence, doe auctoryse our Wel beloved servaunte William Hunnys, Master of our Childryn of our said Chappell, or his deputye, being by his Bill Subscribed and sealed soe aucthorysed, and having this present Commission with him, to take such and as many childerne as he or his sufficiente deputie shall thinke mete, in all Cathedrall, Collegiate, Parishe Churches, Chapells, and any other place or

places, as well within Libertie as withoute, within this our realm of England, whatsoever they be, And Alsoe at all tymes necessary horses, beastes, barges, carres and Waggens for the conveyance of the said childerne from any place, with all manner of necessaries appertayninge to the said Childerne by lande or water at such reasonable prises as by the discrecion of him or his saide deputie shal be thought sufficiente and alsoe to take upp sufficiente lodgynge for him and the said childerne when they for our service shall remove to any place or places, provided alsoe that if our saide Servaunte or his deputie or deputies bearers hereof in his name cannot forth with remove the childe or childerne when he by vertue of this our Commission hath taken hym or them, that then the saide Childe or Childerne shall remayne there untill suche tyme as our saide servaunte William Hunnys shall sende for hym or them. Wherefore we will and commaunde you and every of you to whome this our Commission shall come to be helping, ayding, and assistinge to the uttermoste of your powers, as you will aunswere at your uttermoste perills. In witnesse whereof &c.

Witness ourself, at Westminster the 18th day of Aprill.

Per ipsam Reginam...

CHAPTER XIV. NOTE (1) p. 185.

The Poems written by William Hunnis in the 1596 edition of

The Paradice of Dainty Deuises.
Containing sundry pithie precepts, learned
Counsailes and excellent Inuentions; right
pleasant and profitable for all estates.
Deuised and written for the most parte by
M. Edwardes, sometime of her Maiesties Chappell:
the rest by sundry learned Gentlemen, both of Honor
and Worship, whose names here-
after followe.
Wherunto is added sundry new Inuentions, very
pleasant and delightfull.
At London
Printed by Edward Allde for Edwarde White
dwelling at the little North doore of Sainte Paules
Church at the signe of the Gunne.
Anno 1596.

The names of those who wrote these deuises.

Saint Bernard.	Jasper Haywood.
E. I. O.	F. Kindlemarshe.
Lord Vaux the Elder.	D. Sande.
W. Hunnis.	M. Ylope.

I. *Our Pleasures are but Vanities.*

Beholde the blast, which blowes the blossomes from the tree,
The end whereof, consumes and comes to nought we see ;
Ere thou therefore be blowne from life that may not last,
Begin for grace to call, for time misspent and past.

Have minde on brittle life, whose pleasures are but vaine
O*n death* likewise bethinke, how thou shalt not remaine ;
And feare the Lord to greeue, which sought thy soule to saue
To sinne no more be bent, but mercy aske and haue.

For death who dooth not spare the Kinges on earth to kill,
Shall reape also from thee, thy pleasure, life, and will.
That life which yet remaines, and in thy brest appeares,
Hath sowen in thee such seedes, you ought to weede with teares.

And life that shall succeede, when death is worne and past,
Shall spring for euer then in ioy or paine to last ;
Where death on life, hath power, ye see, that life also,
Hath mowen (1) the fruits of death, which euermore shall grow.
Finis. W. Hunnis.

(4). Being asked the occasion of his white head he answered thus.

Where sighing (2) sighes, and sorrow sobbes,
Hath slaine the slippes that Nature set ;
And scalding showers, with stonie throbbes,
The kindly sap from them hath fet,
What wonder then though that you see,
Upon my head white haires to be.

Where thought hath thrilde and thrown his speares
To hurt the hart that harm'th him not ;
And groning griefe hath groand foorth teares,
Mine eyes to staine my face with spot,
What wonder then though that you see,
Upon my head white haires to be.

When pinching paine himselfe hath plaste,
There peace with pleasures were possest,
And where the walles of wealth lay waste,
And pouertie in them is prest,
What wonder then though that you see,
Upon my head white haires to be.

---

(1) The words in Italics can be read separately.
(2) « Seething » in 1578.

Where wretched woe will weaue her webbe,
Where Care the clew will catch and cast,
And floods of ioy are fallen to ebbe,
So low, that life may not long last.
What wonder then though that you see,
Upon my head white heares to be.

These heares of age are messengers,
Which bid me fast, repent, and pray,
They be of death the Harbengers,
That dooth prepare and dresse the way,
Wherefore I ioy that you may see,
Upon my head such haires to be.

They be the lines that lead the length,
How farre my race is for to runne ;
They say my youth is fled with strength,
And how old age is weake begunne.
The which I feele, and you may see,
Upon my head such lines to be.

They be the stringes of sober sound,
Whose musique is harmonicall
Their tunes declare a time, from ground
I came, and how thereto I shall,
Wherefore I ioy that you may see,
Upon my head such stringes to be.

God graunt all those that white heares haue,
No worse them take then I have ment ;
That after they be laid in graue,
Their soules may ioy their lives well spent,
God graunt likewise that you may see,
Upon your head such heares to be.
Finis. W. H.

(12) *No pleasure without paine* (1).

Sweete were the ioyes, that both might like and last
Strange were the state, exempt from all distresse,
Happie the lyfe, that no mishap should taste,
Blessed the chaunce might never change successe.
Where such a life to lead, or state to proue,
Who woold not wish that such a life were loue ?

But O the sowrie sawce of sweet unsure,
When pleausures flye, and flye with waste of winde ;
The trustlesse traines, that hoping hearts alure,
When sweete delights, do but alure to minde,

(1) In 1578 ascribed to W. R.

When care consumes and wastes the wretched wight,
While fancie feedes and drawes of her delight.

What life were loue, if loue were free from paine?
But O that paine with pleasure matcht should meete;
Why did the course of Nature so ordaine,
That sugred sowre must sauce the bitter sweet?
Which sowre from sweet might anie meanes remoue,
What hap, what heauen, what life were like to loue?

Finis. W. Hunnis.

(51) If thou desire to live in quiet rest,
Give eare and see, but say the best.

If thou delight in quietnesse of life,
Desire to shun from braules, debate and strife,
To liue in loue with God, with friend and foe,
In rest shall sleep, when other cannot so.

Giue eare to all, yet do not all beleeue,
And see the end, and then doo sentence giue.
But say for trueth of happie liues assinde,
The best hath he that quiet is in minde.

Finis (1). W. Hunnis.

(59) A Dialogue betweene the Aucthor and his eye.

Aucthor.

My eye why dost thou light on that which was not thine?
Why hast thou with thy sight, thus slaine an heart of mine?
O thou unhappie Eye, would God thou hadst been blinde,
When first thou didst her spie, for whom this griefe I finde.

Eye.

Why sir it is not I, that doo deserue such blame,
Your fancie not your Eye, is causer of the same,
For I am readie prest, as Page that serues your ease,
to search what thing is best, that might your fancie please.

Aucthor.

I sent thee foorth to see, but not so long to bide,
Though fancie went with thee, thou wert my fancies guide.
thy message being done, thou mightst returne againe,
So Cupid Venus sonne, no whit my heart should paine.

Eye.

Where fancie beareth sway, there Cupid will be bolde,
And reason flyes away, from Cupid's shaft of Golde
If you finde ease thereby, some deale of painefull smart,
Alas blame not your eye, but blame consent of heart.

---

(1) In 1578 « M. Hunnis ».

Aucthor.

My heart must I excuse, and lay the fault on thee,
Because thy sight did chuse, when heart from thought was free,
thy sight thus brought consent, consent hath bred my griefe,
and greefe bids me content, with sorrowe for releefe.

Finis. W. Hunnis.

(60) Finding no ioy he desireth death.

The Cunnie in his caue, the Ferret doth annoy,
and flying thence his life to saue, himselfe dooth he destroy ;
His berrie round about beset, with hunters snares,
So that when he to scape startes out, is caught therein unwares.
Like choise poore man haue I, to bide and rest in loue,
Or els fro thence to flye as bad a death to proue.
I see in loue no rest, unkindenesse doth persue,
To rent his heart out of his brest, which is a louer true.
And if from loue I start, as one that loue forsakes,
then pensive thoughtes my heart doth pearce, and so my life it takes.
then thus to flye or bide, harde is the choyse to chuse,
Sith death hath camp'd and trencht eche side, and saieth life now refuse.
Content I am therefore, my life therein to spend,
And death I take a salue for sore, my wearie daies to end,
And thus I you require, that faithfull loue professe,
When Carkasse cased in his chest, and body laide on hearse,
Your brinish teares to saue, such as my course shall moue,
And therewith write upon my graue, behold the force of loue.

Finis. W. Hunnis

(61) Hope well and haue well.

In hope the ship man hoiseth sayle, in hope of passage good,
In hope of health the sickest man, dooth suffer losse of blood.
In hope the prisoner linkt in chaines, hopes libertie to finde,
Thus hope breedes health, and health breedes ease to
euerie troubled minde,
In hope desire gets victorie, in hope great comfort springs
In hope the louer liues in ioyes, he feares no dreadfull stinges.
In hope we liue and may abide, such stormes as are assigned
Thus hope breedes health, and health breeds ease, to
euerie troubled minde.
In hope we easily suffer harme, in hope of future time,
In hope of fruit, the paines seeme sweet, that to the tree doth clime.
In Hope of loue, such glorie growes as now by proofe I finde,
That hope breedes health, and health breedes ease to
euerie troubled minde.

Finis. W. Hunnis

(63) He complaineth his mishap (1).

Shall rigour raigne where ruth hath runne, shall fancie now forsake?
Shall fortune loose that fauour wonne, shall not your anger slake?
Shall hatefull heart be had in you, that freendly did pretend,
Shall slipper thought and faith untrue, that heart of yours defend?
Shall nature shew your beawtie faire, that gentle seemes to be?
Shall frowardnesse your fancies haire, be of more force then shee?
Shall now disdaine the dragge of death, direct and lead the way?
Shall all the impes upon the earth reioyce at my decay?
Shall this the service of my youth, haue such reward at last?
Shall I receiue rigour of ruthe, and be from fauour cast?
Shall I therefore berent my haires, with wightes that wish to die?
Or shall I bathe myselfe with teares, to feed your feeckle eye?
No, no I shall in paine lie still, with turtle Doue most true,
And vow myselfe to wit and will, their counsells to ensue;
Good ladies all that louers be, and that to be pretend;
Giue place to wit, and reason seeme, your enemies to defend.
Least that you thinke as I haue thought, your selfe to striue in vaine,
And so to be in thraldome brought, with me to suffer paine.

Finis. W. Hunnis.

(64) No foe to a Flatterer (2).

I would it were not as I thinke. I thinke it were not so;
I am not blind although I winke, I feele what windes doo blowe,
I knowe where crafte with smiling cheare, creepes into bouldned brest,
I heare how fained speeche speake faire, where hatred is possest.
I see the serpent lye and lurke, under the greene alowe,
I see him watch a time to worke, his poyson to bestowe.
In freendly looke such fraude is founde, as faith for feare is fled,
And frendship hath receiu'd such wound as he is almost dead,
And hatefull hart with malice great so boyles in canckred minde,
That flatterie flearing in the face, had almost made me blinde.
But now I see all is not golde, that glittereth in the eye,
Nor yet such freendes, as they professe, as now by proofe I trye.
Though secret spight by craft, haue made a coate of Panters-skin,
And thinkes to finde me in the shade, by slights to wrap me in,
Yet God be praised my eye is cleere, and can beholde the Sunne,
When falshood dare not once appeare, to end that he begun.
Thus time shall trie the thing amisse, which God shall shortlie send,
And turne the hart that feigned is, to be a faithfull friend.

Finis. W. Hunnis.

(65) His Comparison of Loue.

The spider with great skill, dooth trauell day by day,
His limmbes no tyme lye still, to set his house in stay.

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(1) In 1578 signed « M. H. ».
(2) In 1578 signed « Anon. ».

And when he hath it wrought, thinking therein to raigne,
A blast of winde unthought, doth driue it downe againe.
The proofe whereof is true, to make his worke indure
He paines himselfe a new, in hope to dwell more sure,
And in some secret place in corner of a wall,
He frameth himselfe a place to builde and rest withall,
His pleasure sweete to say, when he to rest is bent:
an ugly shamble Flye approcheth to his tent,
and there intends by force, his labours great to winne,
Or els to yeelde his coutse, by fatall death therein.
Thus is the spider's nest, from time to time throwne downe,
And he to labour prest, with endlesse paine unknowne.
So such as Louers bee, like trauaile doo attaine,
Those endlesse workes yee see, are alwaies full of paine.
Finis. W. Hunnis.

(68) He assureth his constancie.

With painted speech I list not proue, my cunning for to trye,
Nor yet will use to fill my pen, with guilefull flatterie,
With pen in hand and hart in brest, shall faithfull promise make,
To loue you best, and serve you most, by your good vertues sake,
And sure Dame Nature hath you deckt with gifts aboue the rest,
Let not disdaine a harbour finde, within your noble brest.
For loue hath led his law alike, to men of eche degree,
So shall the beggar with the prince, shall loue as well as he.
I am no prince I must confesse, nor yet of Princes line,
Nor yet a brutish begger borne, that feedes among the swine,
The fruit shall trie the tree at last, the blossomes good or no,
Then do not judge of me the worsse, till you haue tried me so,
As I deserue so then reward, I make you judge of all,
If I be false in word or deede let lightning thunder fall.
And furies feil with frantick fittes, bereaue and stay my breath,
For an example to the rest, if I shall breake my faith.
Finis. W. Hunnis.

(70) No paines comparable to his attempt.

Lyke as the dolefull Doue delights alone to be,
And dooth refuse the bloomed braunch, chusing the leafelesse tree,
Whereon wayling his chaunce, with bitter teares besprent,
Doth with his byll, his tender breast, oft pearce and all to rent
Whose greeuous gronings tho, whose gripes of pinching paine,
Whose gastly lookes, whose bloody streames out flowing from eche vain,
Whose falling from the tree, whose panting on the ground
Examples be of mine estate, though there appeare no wound.
Finis. W. Hunnis.

(71) He repenteth his follie (1).

Alack when I looke back upon my youth thats past,
And deepely ponder youths offence, and youths reward at last,
With sighes and teares I say, O God I not denie,
My youth with follie hath deserued, with follie for to die,
But yet if euerie sinfull man, might mercie moue to ruth,
Good Lord with mercie do forgiue, the follies of my youth.
In youth I ranged the fields, where vices all did grow,
in youth alas I wanted grace, such vice to ouerthrowe,
in youth what I thought sweete, most bitter now do finde,
Thus hath the follies of my youth, with follie keepe me blinde,
Yet as the Eagle casts her bill, whereby her age renueth,
So Lord with mercie do forgiue the follies of my youth.
Finis. W. Hunnis.

(73) The fruit of fained freendes.

In choise of friends what hap had I, to choose one of Sirens kind.
Whose harpe, whose pipe, whose melodie, could feed my eares and make me blinde,
Whose pleasant voice made me forget, that in sure trust is great deceit
In trust I see is treason found, and man to man deceiptfull is,
and whereas treasure dooth abound, of flatterers there doo not misse
Whose painted speech and outword show, doo seeme as freendes and bee not so.
Would I have thought in thee to be, the nature of the Crocadill
Which if a man asleep may see, with bloody thirst desires to kill,
and then with teares a while gan weep, the death of him thus slaine a sleepe
O fauell false, thou traitor borne, what mischeefe more might thou aduise
then thy deere friend to have in scorne, and him to wound in sundry wise
Which still a freend pretends to be, and art not so by proofe I see
Fie Fie upon such treacherie.
W. H.

(To which a moral is applied that is often confused for the whole poem in the signature).
If such false shippes doo haunt the shore
Strike doune the sayle and trust no more.
M. Edwards.

(84) That loue is requited by disdaine.

In searche of thinges that secret are, my mated muse began,
What it might be, molested most the head and minde of man

(1) See his Psalms.

the bending browe of Princes face to wrath that doth attend,
Or want of Parentes, wife or childe, or loss of faithfull friend,
the roaring of the Cannon shot, that makes the peece to shake,
Or terrour such as mightie Joue from heauen aboue can make,
All these in fine may not compare experience so doth proue
Unto the torments sharpe and strange, of such as be in loue.

Loue lookes aloft, and laughes to scorne, all such as griefe anoy
the more extreame their passions be, the greater is his ioy
Thus loue as victour of the feeld, triumphes aboue the rest,
and ioys to see his subiectes lye, with liuing death in brest,
But dire disdaine lets driue a shaft, and gaules this bragging foole,
He pluckes his plumes, unbendes his bowe, and sets him new at schoole.
Whereby this boy that bragged late, as conquerour ouer all
Now yeeldes himselfe unto disdaine, his vassal and his thrall.

Finis.. W. Hunnis.

(85) Of a contented estate.

In wealth we see some wealthie men, abound in wealth most wealthily.
in wealth we see those men againe, in wealth do liue most wretchedly,
and yet of wealth hauing more store,
then earst of wealth they had before,
These wealthy men doo seeme to want, they seem to want ye most they haue.
The more possesse, the more they craue, the more they craue, the greater store
the most they haue, they thinke but scant,
yet not content, woe be therefore.
The simple men that lesse wealth haue, with lesser wealth we see content,
Content are they twixt wealth and scathe, a life to lead indifferent,
and thus of wealth these men had more ;
then those of which we spoke before.

Finis. W. Hunnis.

(87) Of the meane Estate.

The higher that the Cedar tree unto the heauens doo grow,
The more in danger is the top. when sturdie windes gan blow.
Who iudges them in Princely throne. to be deuoide of hate,
Dooth yet not knowe what heapes of ill, lies hid in such estate.
Such dangers great. such gripes of minde, such toyle do they sustaine,
that often times of God they wish, to be unkingd againe.

For as the huge and mightie rockes, withstand the raging seas,
So kingdomes in subjection be, whereas dame fortune please,
Of brittle ioy, of smiling cheare, of honie mixt with gall,
Alotted is to euerie Prince, in freedome to be thrall.
What watches long, what sleepes unsure, what grief and care of minde.
What bitter broiles, what endlesse toyles, to kingdomes be assigned.

The subiect then may well compare with Prince for pleasant daies,
Whose silent night bringes quiet rest, whose steppes no storme
bewraies.
How much be we then bound to God, who such prouision makes,
to lay our cares upon the Prince, thus dooth he for our sakes.
to him therefore let us lift up our hearts, and pray amaine ;
That euerie Prince that he hath plaste, may long in quiet raigne.
Finis. W. Hunnis.

(93) Being in trouble he writeth thus.

In terrours trap with thraldome thrust,
Their thorny thoughts to taste and trie ;
in conscience cleare from cause uniust,
With carping teares did call and crye,
and saide O God yet thou art he,
that can and will deliver me. Bis.

Thus trembling there with teares I trod,
To totter tide in truthes defence ;
With sighes and sobs, I said O God,
Let right not haue this recompense.
Least that my foes might laugh to see.
That thou wouldst not deliuer me. Bis.

My soule then to repentance ranne,
My ragged clothes all rent and torne ;
and did bewaile the losse it wanne,
With loathsome life, so long forlorne,
and saide O God yet thou art he
that can and will deliuer me. Bis.

then comfort came with clothes of ioy,
whose seames were faithfull stedfastnes ;
and did bedeck the naked boy,
that earst was full of wretchednesse.
and said be glad for God is he.
That shortly will deliuer thee. Bis.
Finis. W. Hunnis.

CHAP. XIV. NOTE II, p. 190.

« A Discourse of English Poetrie,

Together with the Author's judgment touching the Reformation of our English Verse. By William Webbe, Graduate, Imprinted at London by John Charlewood for Robert Walley 1586 ».

« I might next speak of the divers works of the olde Earl of Surrey, of the Lord Vaux, of Norton, of Bristow, Edwards, Tusser, Church-

yard, William Hunnis, Haywood, Sand, Hill, and many others, but to speak of their severall giftes and aboundant skyll shewed forth by them in many pretty and learned works, would make my discourse much too tedious.... The sundrie kinds of rare devices and pretty inventions which come from the fine poetical veine of many, in strange and unaccustomed manner, if I could report them, it were worthie my travell, such are the turning of verses, the infolding of words, the fine repetitions and many such like... I could set down many, yet because I want both manie and the best kindes of them, I will overpasse, only pointing you to one or two which may suffice for example. Looke upon the rufull song of Colin sung by Cuddie in the Sheepheard's Calendar... Of this sort there are some devised by John Grange... of these Echoes I knowe indeede verie daintie peeces of worke among some of the finest poets this day in London... A like invention to the last rehearsed, or rather a better have I seene often practised in framing a whole dittie to the letters of one's name, or on the wordes of some two or three verses, which is very witty, as for example, this is one of W. Hunnis, which for the shortness I rather chused than some yt are better, —

« If thou desire to live in quiet reste », &c.

CHAP. XVII. NOTE (1). p. 207.

From manuscript copy in the Bodleian Library.

« A Nosegaie alwaies sweet, for Lovers to send for tokens of love, at New Yeres tide, or for fairings, as they in their mindes shall be disposed to write.

A Nosegaie lacking flowers fresh
to you now do I send,
Desiring you to look thereon
when that you may intend ;
For flowers fresh begin to fade,
and Boreas in the field
Even with his hard congealed frost
no better flowers doth yield.

But if that winter could haue sprung
a sweeter flower than this,
I would have sent it presently,
to you withouten misse,
Accept this then, as time doth serve
be thankful for the same
Despise it not, but keep it well
and marke with flowers his name.

Lavender is for lovers true
which evermore be faine,
Desiring alwaies for to have
Some pleasure for their paine.

And when that they obtained have
the love that they require
Then have they all their perfect joie
and quenched is the fire,

Rosemarie is for remembrance
between us daie and night ;
Wishing that I might always have
you present in my sight,
And when I cannot have
as I have said before
Then Cupid with his deadly dart
doth wound my heart full sore

Sage is for sustenance
that should man's life sustaine
For I do still lie languishing
continually in paine
And shall do still until I die
except thou favour shew
My paine and all my greevous smart
ful wel you do it knowe.

Fenel is for flatterers
an evil thing it is sure ;
But I have always meant truely
with constant heart most pure ;
And will continue in the same
as long as life doth last,
Stil hoping for a ioyful daie
when all our paines be past.

Violet is for faithfulnesse
which in me shall abide
Hoping likewise that from your heart
you wil not let it slide
And wil continue in the same
as you have nowe begunne
And then for ever to abide,
there you my heart have wonne.

Time is to trie me
as ech be tried must
Letting yoo know while life doth last
I will not be minist.
And if I should I would to God
to hell my soul should beare
And eke also that Beelzebub
with teeth he should me teare.

Roses is to rule me
with reason as you will
For to be still obedient
your minde for to fulfill
And thereto will not disagree
in nothing that you say ;
But will content your mind truely
in all things that I may.

Jeliflowers is for gentleness
which in me shall remaine
Hoping that no sedition shall
depart our hearts in twaine
As soone the sunne shall loose his course
the moone against her kinde
Shall have no light, if that I do
Once put you from my minde

Carnations is for gratiousnesse
marke that now by the way
Have no regard to flatterers
nor passe not what they say.
For they will come with lying tales,
your eares for to fulfill.
In any case do you consent
nothing unto their will.

Marigolds is for marriage
that would our minds suffise
Least that suspicion of us twaine
by anie meanes should rise ;
As for my part I do not care
myself I wil stil use
That all the women in the world
for you I wil refuse.

Peniriall is to print your love
so deep within my heart ;
That when you looke this nosegaye on
my pain you may impart
And when that you have read the same
consider wel my wo,
Think ye then how to recompense
even him that loves you so.

Cowsloppes is for counsell
for secrets us between
That none but you and I alone
should know the thing we meane ;

And if you wil thus wisely do,
As I think to be best :
Then have you surely won the field
and set my heart at rest.

I pray you keep this nosegay wel,
and set by it some store
And thus farewel, the gods thee guide
both now and evermore,
Not as the common sort do use
to set it in your brest ;
That when the smel is gone away
on ground he takes his rest.
Finis.

CHAP. XVII. NOTE 2. p. 219.

I am glad to be able, before this work appears, to bring definite facts to bear on my opinion expressed on page 219.

Though still believing that Hunnis wrote some memorial to the Earl of Pembroke, I find that the one I suggest was claimed by another man. In « Coryate's Crudities », 1611, there are printed the Poems of his father, and among these « The Triumph of the Green Dragon », in Latin, with coloured Arms, by George Coryat, father of Thomas, in Memory of the Death of the famous First Earl of Pembroke, William Herbert. Dedicated to Henry, Earl of Pembroke, and William his son, with an English translation, giving his life and the history of his times »... « The conversion of the Triumph to the Right Honorable Henry his son and heir by Your Honours most humble Chaplain George Coryate
Sacrae Theologiae Baccalaureus ».
(note added 1909. C. C. S.)

CHAP. XVIII. NOTE 1. p. 220.

Sir Thomas Cawarden.

Thomas Cawarden or Carden, son of William Cawarden, citizen and cloth fuller of London, was apprenticed to Owen Hawkins, Mercer, on 21st Nov. 1528. (See Indenture at Loseley.) He was also a member of Parliament, and notices of him occur in *Parliamentary Returns*. His expenses as Master of the Revels for the first year of Elizabeth are preserved at Loseley. Dr. Rudolph Brotanek has recently striven to contradict the fact that Sir Thomas Cawarden was the first Master of the Revels by patent, and fancies that he has discovered, from Brewer's printed Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, that Harry Wentworth and Sir Henry Guldford were his predecessors. Some English writers accept his conclusions. But every original worker knew of their position from old Wardrobe Accounts of Henry the Eighths Reign. I myself found many other

notices of them among the uncalendared papers of Henry VIII, which I went through twenty years ago in preparation for this book. But Dr. Brotanek misses the point. The Office was combined with others, and the Officers in direct charge of the Revels were called Sergeants, until the status of the Office was raised for Sir Thomas Cawarden by making him « Master of the Revels » by Patent on 11th March, 36 Hen. VIII 1544-5 (see Patent Rolls 36 Hen. VIII 14. M. 23) (1).

If Dr. Brotanek would turn to the Lansdowne Manuscript, 83. art. 59. Brit. Mus. he will see it definitely stated that « Sir Thomas Cawarden was the first Master of that Office by patent ».

Much information is given concerning him in the Appendix to the 7th Report of the Hist. Man. Commission.

He died on the 29th August, 1599, and a long poem was written to his memory that same month by William Browne.

Concerning Sir Thomas Benger, we have not such full information. He was not so wealthy as his predecessor, and there are many references to his debts and difficulties. Therefore it may be of importance to the elucidation of his story to give a paper that I have lately found in the Court of Requests. Unfortunately it is undated but it is of the reign of Elizabeth. The « Complaint of Sir Thomas Benger knight » states that « one Robert Edgerley, gent. now deceased, left to each of his children, ten pounds and made his wife, Agnes Edgerley his sole Executrix, whom afterwards he, the plaintiff, took to wife. For the better advancement of the children Benger granted freely to each of them beyond the bequest, 100 Marks, and entered into a bond for the amount, to Sir John Browne, knight, and Vincent Power, Esq. friends of the children. Because this gift appeared to the mother and friends so far to surmount the legacy of their father, it was agreed that nothing should be paid to the children till three years after the death of their mother, if they so long lived. Since which time, Vincent Power Esq. died, and then Sir John Browne died, leaving his son Christopher Browne, Executor. Francis Edgerley, one of the said children, immediately after the death of his mother, « (your Orator's wife) » by some means unknown, secured these bonds, and the three years after the death of the said Agnes not being past, put the same into suit at Common Law, by the name of Christopher Browne, and your orator was contented that the matter should be heard and determined by Mr. Sergeant Carewe, and Mr. Sergeant Bendois, Councillors on both sides. They took such order as was agreeable to law and conscience, and both parties agreed. Nevertheless in twelve months after the agreement, on the plea that he had not been bound thereto, of his own froward nature, seeking the vexation and trouble of your said orator, and the benefit of the Common Law, contrary to the true meaning of the agreement, suddenly obtained a *Nihil Dicit* against your orator, whereupon judgment was given of the penaltie of the said obligation, which is

(1) Some errors in the figures relating to this grant have unfortunately been left uncorrected on page 220.

£1000. Nevertheless the Lord Chief Justice. and the other Justices of the Common Pleas, having understood the truth and having read and perused the said obligation and conclusion, concluded to stay execution and took order to pay the said one hundred marks to as many of the said children as be yet living, that is to say, 100 marks to be paid to the said Francis on the 24th day of June 1564, and another 100 marks to be paid at the like date in 1566 to Anne Edgerley the other of the children, and the said Judges in court asked Francis Edgerley if he was content to abide by that order and he answered, yea. But the said Francis is quite revolted from the order, and will abide none, and pretendeth to have the obligation. All which Your Highness' Justices know to be true, and your Orator humbly prayeth this Honorable Court to grant a writ of injunction to Christopher Browne, and Francis Edgerley commanding to stay Execution, and to abide by the Order of the Justices ».

(Uncalendared Court of Requests. Eliz. B. 4).

Though the date has gone and no answer has been preservod, sufficient remains to shew that Sir Thomas Benger had to go through all his grief and trouble while he was Master of the Revels, and that it is possible that his step-son through desire of that £1000 bond worried him out of health, and into his grave.

(Note added 1909 C. C. S.).

CHAP. XVIII. NOTE 2. p. 225.

Early Notices of « The Queen's Players ».

In the Records of the Corporation of Gloucester may be found (now printed in the Record Commission), notes concerning players.

1553-4 « In money gevyn to the players of the city 6/8.
» Reward gevyn to the Queen's Geisster 3/4.

1555-6 Also in money gevyn to the Queene's pleyers, by the time of this accompt by commandement of the Mayor 6/8.

1559-60 The Queenes Majesties pleyers for the scaffold 11d.
Gift to the Queenes Majesties players playing openly at the Bothall 10/
paid in money for a banket the same daye by the saide Maire and Aldermen at the Taverne upon the same players 6/7.
also in money paide to the Lord Ambrose Dudley's players 6/8.

1561-2 the same accomptants aske allowance in moneye payed and geven in rewarde to the Queenes Majesties players this year 10/
Bestowed and spent on the same players at the taverne 4/
for a pounde of candles at the same playe 3d.
Reward to Earl of Warwick's players 10/
for a banket to them 4/2.
in rewarde to Lord Roberte Dudleye his servants and players 13/4.
spent upon saide players at the taverne and for making the scaffold 4/8.

1563-4 Geven Stanweye the Queen's jugler 10
Geven to the Earl of Warwick's Players 10/
paid at the wine tavern for the same players 3/
1564-5 Geven to the Queenes Majesties players 16/8
To the Lord Strange's Players 10/
1565-6 Rewards, making scaffold and drynckinge of the Lord Hunsdon's players 12/
To the Queenes players playing at the Bothall by commandment of Mr. Mair 13/4
also for wine and chirries at Mr. Schwerdebearers for them 2/8.
1567-8 To the Erle Worcester's Players and their drinkinge at Mr. Swordberer 12/6.
also in money paid and geven to the Queenes Majesties players and their drinking 16/2,
1569-70 Also given to the Queenes Players 13/4.
In reward to the Erle of Leicester's plaiers playing before Mr. Maior 13/4.
Alsoe given to the Earle of Sussex plaiers playing before Mr. Maior 10/
1570-1 Alsoe given to the Erle Worcester's players on the 6th Feb 10/
Spent on them at the taverne 2/
Also given to thErle Leycesters plaiers for playing before Mr. Maior 30th April 13/4.
Spente on them at the taverne 3/8.
To the Queenes Beareward, for bayting his bears 6/8.
To the Lieutenant of the Tower his players on the 20th September 10/
Spent on them at Mr. Swordberer's 2/8.
1573-4 (The Queen was in Gloucester and there were many rewards of all kinds).
To the Queenes Musitians 20/ To my Lorde of Leycestors trompettors and musitians 6/8. Allsoe geven to one Emannuel, a straunger of London for sight of his bookes, and his curtesie shewed 10/
also geven to his man 6d.
1575-6 Lord Sussex Plaiers 13-4.
given in wine and in making a scaffold 8/8.
To Maister Comptroller's players 3/4.
To the Earl of Essex's players 13/
More in wine 5/
To the Lorde of Leycesters bearwarde 6/8.

It is difficult to decide who were « The Queen's Players » at this date. « The Enterlude Players » have their allowance still from treasurer of the Chamber, but they do not seem to perform before the Queen, at least they are not mentioned in the Revels' Books.

In the records of many other Boroughs, I have found similar entries even at this early date. Halliwell-Phillipps has followed them where he thought it possible Shakespeare might have been.

One selection (unprinted) I may insert from the Town Records of Aldeburgh, Suffolk, First volume Chamberlain's accounts.

1556-7 Paid to ye Bearward of my Lord's Bears 20d.
1571-2 Item, paid to the Queen's Players. 6/8.
1579-80 For a shawme for Blind Harry 25/
For a Vyall for him 12/6.
For a case for Vyall 3/4.
For a case for his Shawme 12/
1582-3 Paid to the Players the thirde daye of August at Mr. Bayliffe s commandment 6/8.
Paid to ye Queen's Players 2s6.
1583-4 Gyven to the Erle of Arundall's Players 40/6.
1585-6 Paid to Blind Harrie ye 21st of May 2/6.
1586-7 Paid to blind Harrie with the consent of Mr. Baylie ye 3rd day of April to buye him an instrument. 15/6
Given to the Queene's Players' the 20th of May 20/6
Given to the Queen's Players ye 19th of Julie 40/6
1587-8 Paid to ye Queene's Players the 16th daye of December 20/6
1588-9 To the Queenes Players the 30th of Maye. 40/6
Paid to the Earle of Sussex Players 6/8
1591-2 Paid the Queene's plaiers 40/6
To the Queen's Plaiers 20/6
To my Lord Admiral's Players 10/6
1592-3 To her Maiestie's Pleares the 11th October 20/6
To my Lord Morlies men the same time 10/6

(The following volume is not at present, at least, in the charge of the Corporation and I cannot continue further).

Later references to the Queen's players as appointed in 1583.

Extracts from the Chamberlains' Accounts, in The Records of the City of York, between 1580 and 1612.

1584 Rewards to Honourable Mens' Servants, players, and Minstrells.
Item, paid to My Lord of Essex his players that played in the common Hall in March 1583-20s.
Item, geven to the Quenes Majesties players that played in the Common Hall in August 1584-£3.6.8.
1585 Item, geven in reward to the Earle of Worceter players in March 1584-10s.
Item, geven the last of June to my Lord of Oxford's players 20s.
1586 No account.
1587 Item, geven the 27, Feb. to my L. ot Esseks players-3os.
Item, geven in May to my L. Shandos' Players... 20s.
Item, geven in reward to the Quenes Majesties players which came in Her Lyvereys and they played in the common hall the 9th of September 1587-£3.6.8.

Item, geven to L. of Sussex' plaiers... 20s.
Item, geven to my L. Stafford's plaiers 26s.8d.

1588 Item, geven to my Lord of Essex' players that played in the common hall in February. 1597-30s.
Item, geven the 20 of June to the L. of Sussex' players 26s.8d.
Item, geven to my L. of Lassyter's players which played in the Common Hall 13. of July 1588...30s.

1589-1590, no accounts

1591 Item, geven in reward to my L. Beacham's players that played in the common hall the 26 September, 1590, 30s.
Item, to the Erle of Newcastle's players that plaied in the common hall the 2 of Oct. 1590, 20s.

1592 no account.

1593 Item, geven to my L. Admorall and my L. Morden's players in April 1593-30 s.
Item, geven to my L. Pembroks players in June 40s.
Item, to my L. the Erle of Worseter players in May 1593, 30s.
Item, in reward to my L, of Sussex' players in August 1593, 40s.
Item, to the Quene's players in Sept. 53s.4d.
Item, to my L. Ogle and L. Darsie's players 30 Novem. 10s.

1594 Item, geven to my L. Burrowe's players October 1594, 10s.

1595 no account.

1596 Item, geven to hir Majesties players which played in the common hall in July, 1596, 40s.
Item, geven to my L. of Essex' Mussissions, 20s.
Item, geven in reward to my L. Darbie and L. Darcies players 30 September, 1596, 10s.

1597 Item, geven in reward to my Lord Shandos men in Iune 1599, 10s.

1598 Item, geven to hir Majesties players which came to York in August 1598, who played not, 40s.

1599 Item, geven to the Erle of Worsyters players in Aprill, 1599, per agrement. 30s.
Item, the 14 of June tomy L. of Lyncolne's players, p. agrement 20s.
Item, geven to the King of Scottes Musitions in Julie, 1599, 20s.
Item, geven to my L. Monteagles players the 12 Novem. 1599 per mandat due Maiore 20s.
Item, to the Quene's players that plaied in the common hall, 40s.

1600 No entries.

1601 no account.

1602 Item, given to the Quenes Majesties players which played in the common hall 27 July, 1602, £3.
Item, given to my Lord of Lyncolne players, 3 Oct. 1602, which played not before my L. Maior. 20s.

1603 Item, geven in reward to my L. Dudley's men, which played upon their trompetts at His Majesties coming to this Cittie, 13|4.
Item, in reward to the King's Dromer, 5s.

Item, to the Kings Majesties Mussissions, 5s.
Item, given to my Lord Admiralls players, 20s.
Item, the 10 Dec. to my L. Staffords players, 10s.
Item, the 24 Dec. to my L. Evars players, 30s.

1604 No account.

1605 Item, given to my Lord Dudleys players the 20 Aug. 1605, 5s.
Item, given to my Lord Bartleys players the 9 Dec. 1605, 30s.
To my L. Staffords trumpitors, 2s.6d.

1606 Item, given in September to the Duck of Lenox' Trumpiters 20s.
Item, given to the Quenes Majesties players which played in the common hall, £4.

1607 Item geven to my L. Dudleys players which played not, 30s.
Item, in rewarde to the Duke of Lynnox trumpitors, 5s.

1608 Item, geven to my L. Evers plaiers which played not, 40s.

1609 No account.

1610 Item, given to my L. Albany's players, which came to the Cittie and plaied not, in July 1610, 10s,

1611 Given at Lammas Assizes to my Lord Awberryes players, 20s.

1612 Item, given the 11. June 1612 to the Earle of Rutland, my L. of Oxeford and my Lord Chamberleyns Trumpiters, 20s.

(These entries from York suggest many points worth further consideration, which, however cannot be treated here. They were kindly extracted for me by Mr. W. Giles, Deputy Town Clerk of York, and have not been published before).

CHAP XIX. NOTE I. page 244.

It is possible that William Hunnis may have been rewarded by Elizabeth for his share in « The Kenilworth Festivities ». I find a grant made out to him in L. R. Inrolments. V. 136. f. 309b. 1576. Salop. Lease for William Hunnys, of tithes in Nunley.

The Queen grants letters patent at Westminster on the 18th day of May, in the 18th year of her reign, for a lease to farm to William Hunnys, gentleman of her Majesty's Chapel, all the tithes accruing to her in corn and hay in the Hamlet of Nunley, in co. Salop, formerly in the tenure of Agnes Parrie, with all commodities and emoluments thereto appertaining, and certain premises in Nunley, parcel of the Rectory of Baschurch in the Countie of Salop (Shropshire) and formerly of the Monastery of St Peter and St Paul in Shrewsbury, in the same county of Salop. These are granted to the said William Hunnys, his heirs, executors and assigns for the term of 21 years from the feast of St John Baptist ensuing, paying yearly to the hands of the Bailiff for the Queen the sum of 15/ at the half-yearly terms.

CHAP. XX. NOTE I. p. 253.

I have just learnt that among the grants in the 27th year of Elizabeth (i. e. 1585) there is preserved a long grant to Hunnis of many properties in Essex, Hertford and elsewhere, chiefly small, and scattered, but, taken together, a substantial answer to his petition of 1583. (See L. R. Inrolments. Vol. 41 f. 160b).

The Queen granted to her much-valued William Hunnys, gentleman of the Chapel Royal, and Master of the Children of the same, in consideration of his good, true, and acceptable services, and for the sum of £64, 19, 11, all that mill and watercourse in the Hamlet of Bradway, in the parish of Norton, in the County of Derby, formerly in the possession of the Monastery of Beauschiff, and now in the tenure of John Barker, with all houses, edifices, structures, barns, stables, gardens, orchards, watercourses, fishponds, and all other emoluments and hereditaments pertaining to the mill. He was also granted many lands in Essex, formerly held of the Monastery of Manor, and now part of the Queen's property, some of them only in reversion after longer or shorter terms of lease. For some of them he has separate rents to pay, at a low rate. The whole grant covers ten large folio pages, and nearly covers two more, so it cannot here be transcribed. The land held by Godfrey Fanshawe, gentleman, and all the field called Sextonsfield in Essex near Barking, at great Ilford ; the parcel of land called Riple Marsh, and that called Bedfords Marsh in the parish of Barking, and the parcel of land, called Diers Land, and Cotelands, in the tenure of William Powncett ; and that parcel of land called Bar End, the parcel called The Brickfield, and *Chapplefield*, formerly held by William Bratt ; a parcel called *little Paradise*, in Waving Mead in the East Mersh of Dakenham ; also that called *Much Paradise* in the occupation of Thomas Peacock, also Owen's Croft in Wavering, formerly in tenure of Joshua Bulke, and assigned to the said William Hunnys, gent. by letters patent 8th June, 23. Eliz. for 2 years. Also another parcel formerly belonging to the Monastery of Barking, at Bury in Suffolk, called Longbrake Land, and another parcel occupied by William Copwright, granted to William Hunnys his heirs and assigns on 7th May, 24 Eliz. for 21 years ; And the croft called Teynter field, and Teynter Crofte in Wakering, between the lands formerly belonging to Robert Amadas and the land called Otelands ; an acre in Porters Wall or Coldharborough Slabmeade ; the parcel of land called Wet Shores, Conduit Meade, Sibbells Land ; four acres of arable land called Shortbrow at Stratford Langthorne ; the tenement with all appurtenances, in Church Street, Westham, occupied by John Orre ; all the 44 acres in Stratford Langthorne called Watts or Wyatts, in Harlow. All that tenement with its appurtenances, in Watford, Hertfordshire in the tenure of the Bailiff of the manor ; and the parcel of land called Sayesbury of the Manor of Sabridgeworth formerly in Church Croft ; the 27 acres of arable land and 8 acres meadow in Hampton in Middlesex, formerly in tenure of John Field, parcel of the Honour of Hampton Court. Then an estimate is made of the acreage, the rents and conditions, the length of years sundry leases had yet to run, and the amount of land free for occupation, all granted by the Queen, her heirs and successors, to William Hunnis his heirs or assigns, with sufficient « housebote, hedgebote, firebote, ploughbote, and cartebote ». A privy seal, « witness our hand the tenth day of April in the 27th year of our reign (1585). »

BUGGIN.

CHAP. XX. NOTE 2. p. 254.

John Lyly's letter to Sir Robert Cecil throws a strange side-light on the Essex Rebellion. Knowing that the Queen was most likely to be liberal at such times, he writes « I would be an humble suitor to Her Majestie to have something out of the lands, leases, goods or fines that shall fall unto her Highness by the true fall of these false, desperate and disloyall traitors. I am not so impudent as to entreat your Honour a motioner, but a favourer if haply it be moved that after thirteen years service and suit for the revels I may turn all my forces to feed on the rebels, 1601 ».

To Sir Philip Sidney, it was bitter to profit by the sufferings of others, when the Queen granted him some recusant's lands, to William Hunnis it was probably the same, when he was granted a share in Recusant lands to make up for the deficiencies of his income in relation to the Revels, but poor Lyly seems to have forgotten all but the urgency of his immediate needs in his request.

NOTE. CHAPS. XVIII and XX.

Contracted Notices of Court Plays during the time of William Hunnis, from the Declared Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber. Pipe Office. No. 541.

1-2 Eliz. To the Queen's Majesty's Interlude Players for their play on new Years Eve. £6.13.4.

2-3. El. The Lord Dudley's Players, and to Sebastian Westcott Master of the Children at Pauls... by the Council's Warrant dated 6th Jan. 1561... An interlude, either of them... £6.13.4 each ».

(When players receive this normal fee, I do not repeat it...)

9-10. Eliz. Sir Francis Knollys, Treasurer of the Chamber.

To John Tailor, Mr. of the Children at Westminster... Warrant 10th Jan. 1567, for a play performed last Christmas...

To Sebastian Westcote, Mr. of the Children of Pawles... Warrant... 13th Jan. 1567... for two severall plaies... this last Christmas...

To William Hunnyes Mr. of the Children of the Queenes Majesties Chappell... Warrant... 3rd of March 1567, for presenting a Tragedie this Shrovetide.,.

To Richard Ferrante... Mr. of the Children of Windsor... Warrant Ist March... a Plaie... this Shrovetide...

10-12 Eliz.

To Sebastian Westcote, Mr. of the Children of Pawles... Warrant... 2nd Jan. 1568... a plaie... New Years Day, at night,...

To Richard Farrant, Scole Mr. of the Children of Windsor... Warrant 25th Feb 1568... a plaie... on Shrove Tuesday at night...

To Richard Farrante Scholemaster to the Children of Windsor... Warrant... 2nd June 1569... a plaie this Christmas upon St. Johns Daie at night last past...

To William Hunnys Mr. of the Children of Her Majesties Chappell... Warrant... 7th January 1569... a plaie on Twelfth daie at night last paste...

To Lord Riches Players... Warrant same daie for a plaie... on Shrove Sundaie...

12-13 Eliz.

Sir Thomas Henneage, Treasurer of the Chamber.

To Sebastian Westcott Mr. of the Children of Powles... Warrant... 22nd Februar, 1570, for a plaie on Innocents daie last paste...

To William Hunneys, Richard Farrant, and Sebastian Westcott, Mrs of the Queens Majesties Chapell Royal, Windsor, and Powles... Warrant, ultimo Feb. 1570, for three plaies at Shrofted last past, namely on Sondaie, Mondaie and Tuesdaie...

13-14 Eliz.

Richard Farrant gent. Mr. of the Children of Windsor Warrant... 5th Jan. 1571 for a plaie on New Years Daie at night last past...

To Laurence Dutton and his fellows... Warrant... 5th Jan. 1572 for a plaie on St. Johns Daie at night last past...

To Sebastian Westcott Mr. of the Children of Powles... Warrant... 9th Jan. 1571 for a plaie upon Innocents daie at night last past...

To William Hunnys Mr. of the Children of the Q. M. Chapell... for presenting a plaie... Twelfth Daie at night last past.... in the whole by waie of the Queen's Majesties reward... £13.6.8.

14-15 Eliz.

To Richard Farrant Mr. of the Children at Windsor... Warrant 2nd Jan. 15 Eliz. a plaie... Newe Yeres Daie at night last past...

To the Earl of Leicester's Players... Warrant... 1st Jan. 1572 for presenting 3 seuerall plaies in Christmas last, videlicet... for every play £6.13.4 and for a more reward by Her Majesty's command... £10. in all... £30...

To Elderton, and the Children of Eton... Warrant... 7th January 1572... a plaie... on Twelfth Night last past...

Sebastian Westcott Mr. of the Children of Polls upon like warrant daie and year for a plaie... by the said Children...

To Mr. Moncaster... Warrant 10th Feb. 1572... a playe... Shrove-Tuesday at night... £6.13.4. and for a more reward... £13.5.8, in all £20.

To the Earl of Sussex' Players... Warrant... 7th Feb. 1572.... for a plaie...

15-16 Eliz.

To Therle of Leicester's Players... Warrant... 9 Jan. 1573... two seuerall plaies, in Christmas Hollidays last past... £13.6.8... and by waie of speciall reward for their chardges and skill shewed therein £6.13.4... in all £20...

To Richard Farrant Schoolmaster... Warrant... 10th Jan. 1573 a plaie... on Twelfth Daie at night last past £6.13.4 and in respect of his charges coming thither 66.8... in all £10...

To Sebastian Westcott, Mr. of the Children of Powles... Warrant 19th Jan. 1573 a plaie... St Johns Daye at night last past...

To Laurence Dutton and the rest of his Fellows, Servants to the Lord Clinton... Warrant... 11 Jan. 1573... a plaie... Sundaye nighte 3rd. Jan. 1573...

To William Elderton... Warrant... 10th Jan. 1573... a plaie on Newe Yeres Daye last past...

To Therle of Leicester's Players...Warrant 22nd Feb. 1573, for a plaie on 20th Feb. £6.13.4 and further by waye of Her Majesties reward for such charges as they had been at in the furniture of the same 66.8... in all £10...

To Richard Moncaster for two playes... on Shrove Tewsday and Candlemas £13.6.8... and further for such cost and charges as he was at £13.6.8... in thole £26.13.4...

16. to 17. Eliz.

To the Earl of Leicester's Players... Warrant... 9th Jan... a plaie upon St Stephens day... £10.

To the same for a play on New Yeres Daie £6.13.4.

To the Lord Clinton's Players... for a playe on St Johns Daye...

To the said Lord Clinton's Players... for a playe on 2nd Jan. last...

To Richard Farraunt, Mr. of the Children of the Chapel of Windsor for a playe... on Twelfth Night... £13.6.8...

To William Hunnys, Mr. of the Children of Her Majesties Chapell... Warrant 17th Feb, 1574... for a playe... on Shrove-Sundaie last past... 20 marks... £13.6.8.

To Richard Moncaster... Warrant on same daie... a plaie £13.6.8...

To the Earl of Warwick's players... Warrant 16th Feb..., for a playe on Shrove-Sondaie last past. £10.

Sebastian Westcott Mr of the Children of Poules... Warrant, 16th Feb. 1574 on Candlemas Daie at night then last past, £13.6.8...

17-18 Eliz.

To the Earl of Leicester's Players... Warrant 30th Dec. 1575 for a Playe... on Innocents daie at night £10...

To Richard Farrant for a plaie... Warrant,... 30th Dec. 1575... on St. Johns daie at night.

To Sebastian Westcott Mr. of the Children of Poules... Warrant... 7th Feb. 1575... for a plaie on Twelfth Daie at night last past... £10.

To — Burbage and his Company, Servants to the Earl of Leicester... Warrant... 14th March 1575... for a plaie on Sonday before Shrovetyde last past... £10...

To Alfonso Ferrabolle and the rest of the Italian Players... Warrant... 12th March 1575, for playing before Her Highness, on the 27th of Feb. last past... £10.

19-20 Eliz.

The Earl of Leicester's Players... Warrant... 9th Jan. 1587... for a playe on St. Stephens Daye... £10...

To the Lord Chamberlains Players... for a playe on Candlemas Daie at night last past... £10...

To the Earl of Warwick's players... for a plaie on Childermas Day at night £10... and on Shrove Sondaie for another play again... £10.

To the Earl of Leicester's players on... Shrove Tuesday, the whole Company coming and for their charges, though the playe by Her Majesty's command was supplied by others £6.13.4...

Sebastian Westcott... for presenting a plaie on 29th Dec. £10.

To Richard Farrant... for a play on St. Johns daye at night... £10.

To The Earl of Warwick's players... Warrant... 12th Jan. 1577, for a play at Christmas... 20-21 Eliz. on Twelfe day at night £10.

20-21 Eliz.

To the Earl of Leicester's Players... Warrant... 16th Jan. 1578,... a plaie... £10.

To the Lord Chamberlains players... for a play on Shrove Tuesday... £10.

To Richard Farrante... a playe... on Shrove-Monday... £10.

To the Earl of Warwick's Servants... for a play on Shrove Sonday... £10...

To Jerome Savage and his companie the Earl of Warwick's players... for a play which was in readinesse to have been presented 1st March 1578... £6.13.4.

The Account of the Treasurer of the Chamber, Sir Thomas Henneage.

21-22 Eliz. Pipe Office, 542.

To the Lord Strange his tumblers... on Tuesday 25th January 1579... for certain feats of activity... £10.

To Richard Farrant Mr. of the Children of her Majesties Chapell... Warrant 25th Jan. 1579... for a plaie on St. Johns Day last paste... £10.

To the Lord Chamberlains players... warrant 26th Feb. 1572... for a play... on St. Stevens day last past... £10.

To Sebastian Westcott, Master of the Children of the Church of St. Paules... for a play on Sonday 3rd Jan. 1579... £10...

To the earl of Warwick's players... on Newe Yeres Day laste... in all... £10... 1579.

To the Earl of Leicester's players... on Twelfth day last past... £10...

To the Lord Chamberlain's Players... a playe upon Candlemas Day, last past... £10.

To same players... on Shrove Tuesday at night... £10.

22-23 Eliz.

To the Earl of Derby's Players... on Newe Yeres Day at night last paste. £10...

To the Earl of Leicester's players... on Shrove Tuesday last past... £10.

To them more for a play on St. Stephens day at night... £10...

To Therle of Sussex' players... on St. John's day at night. in all... £10...

To Sebastian Westcott, Mr of the Children of Powles... at Christmas on Tuesday at night... £10.

To the Mr. of the Children of the Chappell... Warrant... 14th Feb. 1580... for a playe upon Shrove sonday at night last past... £10...

To the Lord Chamberlaynes Players, upon Candlemas Day... £10...

23-24 Eliz.

To the Mr. of the Children of her Majestys Chappell... Warrant... dated 1st April 1582, for two plaies presented... on the last daie of December, and Shrove Tewsday... £20...

To the Mr. of the Children of Powles... on St. Stephens day at night last paste... £10.

24-25 Eliz.

To Richard Mulcaster... Warrant... 17th Feb. 1582... for a playe before Her Highness with his scholars on Shrove Tuesday laste... £10...

To the servants of the Lord Chamberlain... on Twelfe daie... £10...

To the servants of the Earl of Derby... £10...

To the Servants of the Earl of Leicester... for a play on Shrove Sonday... £10...

To Lord Hunsdon's players... for a play... on St. Johns Daye... £10...

To William Hunnys Mr. of the Children of the Chappell Royall... Warrant... 17th Feb. 1582... for a plaie... on St. Stevens day last... £10...

25-26 Eliz.

26-27 Eliz.

27-28 Eliz.

To the Servants of the Lord Admirall... Warrant... 31st Jan. 1585... for a play... St. John's day last past... £10.

To the Servants of the Lord Admirall and the Lord Chamberlain... for a plaie on Twelfe daie last paste... £10.

To Her Majesties players... Warrant... dated last of Januarie 1585,... for a plaie on St. Stephens day last past... £10...

To Her Majesties players... by Warrant on same daie... for a plaie on Twelfth Day last past, and by same Warrant for a plaie performed by them on New Yeres Day... three in all... £30.

Also to her Majesties players... warrant... on the last day of Feb. 1585 for a plaie performed... Shrove Sondaie last past. £10...

28-29 Eliz.

To the Queens Players... for four playes... on St. Stephens daie, New Yeres daie, Twelfe day, Shrove Tuesday.., in all... £40...

To the Earl of Leicester's players... Warrant 31st March 1587... for a plaie... on St. Johns daie at night... £10...

29-30 Eliz.

To the Queen's players,... Warrant... 20th March 1587, for giving their attendance in reciting and playing certain playes and interludes in the Christmas Hollydaies and at Shrovetide, videlicet, one on St. Stephens day at night, one on Twelfe daie at night, and another on Shrove Sonday... £20.

30-31 Eliz.

To William Gascoigne and William Spencer, The Lord Admirall's players for two Interludes or playes, thone on Sonday after Christmas and the other on Shrove Sondaie and for tumbling and other feats of activity... £20.

To Thomas Giles, Mr. of the Children of Pawles... for three playes... on St. Johns day, Newe Yeres day, and Sonday after Twelfth day £20.

To the Queens Players... on St. Stephens day, and on Shrove Sondaie... £20...

31-32 Eliz.

To the Lord Admirall's players... Warrant 10th March 1589... for certain feats of activitie and playing on Shrove Tuesdaye... £20...

To Thomas Giles, Mr. of the children of Pawles... for three severall Interludes or playes, viz. one on Christmas, one on Newe Yeres daye, and one on Twelfe day... in all £30...

To John Dutton and John Lanham. . for two plaies on St. Stevens day at night and one on Shrove Sondaie last past... £10.

32-33 Eliz.

To Laurence Dutton and John Dutton, Her Majesties players... for four severall playes... in all £40.

To John Laneham and his Company, Her Majesty's players for an Interlude play on Newe Yeres daye... £10...

To the Servants of Lord Strange... 1591... for six plays at Newe year tyme... in all £60...

To the Queen's players... for a plaie on St. Stephen's daye... £10...

To the servants of the Earl of Hertford... for a playe on Twelfth daye... £10.

To the servants of the Earl of Sussex... for a plaie on Sonday after Newe Year... £10...

34-35 Eliz.

The account of Mary Countess of Southampton, late Wife of Sir Thomas Henneage, Treasurer of the Chamber...

To the servants of Lord Strange... for three playes... in all £10...

To the servants of the Earl of Pembroke... for two playes... £20

35-36 Eliz. Mary, Countess of Southampton...

To her Majesties Players, Warrant 31 Jan. 1593, for a plaie or Interlude... Twelfth daie at nighte... in all £10.

36-38 Eliz. 1 year and 60 daies.

To William Kempe, William Shakespeare, and Richard Burbage, servants of the Lord Chamberlain, Upon the Councils Warrant, dated at Whitehall 15th March 1594, for two severall Comedies or Interludes shewed by them before Her Majestie in Christmas tyme last past on St Stephens daie and on Innocents daie... in all £20...

From 16th Dec. 38 Eliz. to 3rd July Next following, when the Countess resigns to Sir William Killigrew.

To John Hemynge and George Bryan, Servants to the late Lord Chamberlayne and now servants to the Lord Hunsdon... Warrant, at White hall, on 23st Dec. 1596, For five Interludes or playes, viz. on St. Stephen's daie at night last, the Sonday following, Twelfth daye at night, on St. Johns day, and on Shrove Sonday at night... in all £50.

To Edward Allen and Martyn Slater, Servants of the Lord Admirall,... Warrant, 13th Dec. 1596, for four Interludes or Playes on Newe Years Daye at night, Sondaye next following, on Shrove Sondaie and Shrove Tuesday at night last, in all £40.

1597

To Thomas Pope and John Hemynges Servants to the Lord Chamberlain, for six Interludes or playes... viz. on St. Stephens day at night, on St. Johns daie at night, on Newe Yeres daie at night, on Twelfth Day at night, on Shrove Sondaie at night, and Shrove Tuesday... in all £60.

(Note the relation between the dates of the performances and the warrants, and the distinction which lies between « this Christmas » « last Christmas », and « Christmas last past » in determining the time.)

These selections shew the changes of the Companies, and how the

Queen's taste or humour affected their employment. The popularity of the children's performances seemed to decrease after the Earl of Leicester secured a Royal Patent for his Servants in 1574, at which time Burbage begins to be mentioned by name in the Accounts (See my article in the Fortnightly, July, 1909. « Burbage's Theatre »). On Leicester's death the Company became the Lord Hunsdon's Servants, and when he was Lord Chambarlain, they were called by his official name, as may be noted, when the first lord Hunsdon died and the heir to his title did not succeed to his office for six months.

CHAPTER XX. NOTE.

Illustrative Notices of action taken concerning the Drama by the Court and by the City.

There had been Plays and Players before the reign of Henry VIII, but in that reign first arose «companies » of players — either « common or vagabond » or styled « the servants » of some nobleman. For instance in the Household expenses for January, 20, 21, and 22 Henry VIII, there appears : « Item to the King's Plaiers for playing before his grace £6. 13. 4. », « Item to the Princesse Plaiers for playing before his grace £4. », « Item to certen Players of Coventrye for pleying in the Court this last Christmas 20s ».

One of Cromwell's papers notes that holidays were kept with little devotion « ydle and wanton sportes and plaies of stage being used and exercised ». The first Act of Parliament in 34 and 35 Hen. VIII, for the advancement of true religion, deprecates « plays, rhymes, songs and other fantasies ».

The Corporation of London hated players, and before 1543 tried to suppress them. The first mention of them in the Register of the Privy Council at St. James occurs 10 April 1543 : « Certain players belonging to the Lord Warden, for playing contrary to an order taken by the Mayor on that behalf were committed to the Counter ».

In 37 Hen. VIII, (26th May 1545), an act was passed to clear the Bankside, and all « ruffians, Vagabonds, masterless men, and common players, were to serve the King in the army or in the gallies ».

The Earl of Oxford's players were performing a comedy in Southwark while the dirge for Henry's soul was being sung in St. Saviours, and great complaints were made against them. Gardiner wrote to Paget, that « they were going to haue a solemn play to trye who shall have the most resorte, they in game, or I in earnest », and he asked the Lord Protector to interfere. One of the first grievances of Edward's reign was the seditiousness of the Common Players of Interludes and Plays, and an inhibition of their performances was published 6th Aug. 1549.The Duke of Somerset retrenched in the expenses of Court Plays; and an « Inhibition of Players from the 9th of August until the Feast of all Saints » was published in 1550. A second proclamation was issued against dramatic performances, Ap. 28. 1551. The Register of the Privy Council, 21 June 1551, records a license to the Marquis of

Dorset, to have his players, « but to play only in his own presence ». On 18th April 1552, an edict was passed that no players were to play without license, and on 10th June 1552 the Privy Counsel instructed the Lord Treasurer « to send for the poet which is in the Tower for making plays, to deliuer him ».

Yet at Twelfth tide George Ferrers was made master of the pastimes and William Baldwyn, Graduate of Oxford, was appointed to set forth a play, and a letter was written to Sir Thomas Cawarden, Master of the Revels, to furnish him with all necessaries for it on Candlemas Day at night, 28th Jan. 1552-3.

One of Mary's earliest proclamations was « for the reformation of Prechars, Prynters, Players, 18th Aug. 1552 ».

Players were not allowed to play in the provinces at all, but the people screened them, and prohibitions were not enforced.

Queen Mary had a definite taste for the Stage, and she ensured, with some difficulty, a Coronation Play, a Christmas Play, and various other plays through her reign. But she and her Council were well aware of the danger of heretical and treasonable suggestions, and especially in her later years, the players were restricted with exceeding severity, and further penalties added to her father's laws against them.

Council Register Harl. 653.

14th Feb. 1555 Letter to Lord Rich. A stage play appointed to be played at Shroftide at Hartfield Bradocke in Essex. He must stay the same, and examine the players, the effect of the playe and report.

27th June 1557. Letter to John Fuller, Mayor of Canterbury, thanks for his diligence in apprehending and commiting of the players to warde, whom they are willed to keep so untill they shall receive further order from hence, and in the meantyme, theyr lewde playe booke is committed to the consideracion of the King and Queenes Majesties learned counsaile who are willed to declare what the same wayeth unto in the Lawe, where upon they shall receave further orders from hence touching the said pleares.

11th July 1557 Letter of thanks to Lord Rich. Further touching the players, it is signified to his Lordshippe that order was given in the Starre Chambers openly to the justyces of the Peace of every Sheire this last Terme that they should suffer no players whatsoever the matter was, to play, especially this somere, which order his Lordship is willed to observe and to cause them that shall enterprise the contrary to be punished.

A letter to the justices of the peace of Essex to suffer no players to playe any Enterludes within that county but to see them punyished that shall attempt the same, wherein they were admonyshed this last Terme in the Starre Chamber and therefore it is thought strange that they have not accordingly accomplished the same.

11th Aug. 1557. To the Mayor of Canterbury with the Lewd Playbooke sent thether by them and the Examinacions of the Playors thereof they are willed to consider, and to follow the orders hereof signified unto them, which was touching the said Lewde Playe, they should

thereupon proceede against the players forthwith according to the same, and the Quallytyes of theire offenses, which orders they are willed to follow without delaye.

5th Sept. 1557. To the Lord Mayor to give order forthwith that some of his officers doe forthwith repair to the Bores Hed without Aldgate where the Lordes are enformed a lewde playe called a Sack full of Newse shalbe plaied this daye, ye plaiers whereof he is willed to safe warde untill he shall heare further from them and to take theire playe booke from them and to send it thither.

5th Sept. 1558. To the Lord Maior to set at libertie the players apprehended yesterday and to give them and all other players throughout the cittie commandment and charge not to playe any playes, but between the feaste of All Saintes and Shrovetyde and then only such as are seen and allowed.

Elizabeth confirmed the Statutes against players made in the preceding reign. On April 7th 1559, she issued her first proclamation, alluded to by Holinshed. On May 16th a second was issued that no plays should be performed untill All Hallowes tide, either openly or privately unless licensed in writing, and further her Majestie giveth special charge to her nobilitie and gentleman as they professe to obey and regard her, to keep good order in this behalf with their servants being players (Bodleian Library Copy).

In June 1559 Sir Robert Dudley wrote on behalf of his servants to the Earl of Shrewsbury, president of the North « being honest men, and shall plaie none other matters but tolerable and conveniant ».

«On the 10th of Jan. 1561-2 paid to Lord Robert Dudley's players and Sebastian Westcott, Master of the Children of Pawles, who played before the Queen at Christmas. £ 13. 6. 8. »

On Feb. 12th 1563 Edmund Bishop of London wrote to Sir William Cecil that Plays and Interludes are likely to renew the Plague. These had been, « the practice of any idle sort of people, which have been infamous in all good common wealths... I mean the Histriones, the Common Players, who now dailie, but specially on Holydayes, set up stages whereunto the youth consorteth excessively and thus taketh infection ; besides ye godly worde by theyr impure mouthes is prophaned, and formed unto scoffs for remedie whereoff in my judgment ye should do very well to be a meane that a Proclamation were set forth to inhibit all playes, for one whole yeare, (and iff it were for euer, it were not amisse) both in the City or suburbs ».

On March 7th Prayers of Thanksgiving were ordained for cessation of the Plague.

Elizabeth's pronounced fondness for the Drama, and liberal payments to the best players, must have been a constant perplexity to the Churchmen, and to the City Fathers. Some complained of the irreverence, and others of the immorality of the plays and the players, all agreed, that the coming together of crowds of people was apt to spread infectious diseases. The Privy Council also looked at them jealously, as a means of disseminating ideas, religious or political, obnoxious to the Queen or the government, but knowing, and in general sharing

the Queen's tastes, they contented themselves with liberal cautions to the players, and careful selection of the plays. They passed all the warrants to pay those who performed before the Queen.

The gaps of the Privy Council Register have been filled up from other sources. In 1571-2 Queen Elizabeth enacted the famous statute that « Rogues, Vagabonds, Sturdy beggars, those going about with Palmistry, Fortune-tellers, Fencers, *Common Players* and Minstrels not belonging to any Baron of the Realm shall be judged Vagabonds, and shall be whipped » and sent to service, yet the usual warrants were issued to pay many players for performances at Court. The Lord Mayor on March 2nd 1573-4 declined to licence a place for theatrical performances in the city to the servan's of the Earl of Sussex, Chamberlain of the Household. Mr. Holmes had asked leave to act, which was also refused him. On the 22nd March of that year, the privy Council wrote to the Lord Mayor, asking what causes he had to restrain plays, that their Lordships may the better answer such as desire liberty for the same. Unsatisfied with his reply, the Earl of Leicester secured a Royal Patent under the privy Seal for his own men.

May 7th 1574 « to James Burbage, John Perkyn, John Laneham, William Johnson, Robert Wylson and others, servants to our trustie and well-beloved cousin and Counsellor the Earl of Leicester, to use, exercise and occupie the art and facultie of playing Comedies, Tragedies, Interludes, Stage Plaies and such other, like as they have already used and studied or hereafter shall use and study as well for the recreacion of our loving subjects, as for our solace and pleasure when we shall think good to see them... together with their musick,... as well within our cyty of London, and Liberties of the same as also within the liberties and freedoms of any of our Cytyes, towns, Boroughs etc. whatsoever, throughout our realme of England ; willing and commanding you, and every of you as ye tender our pleasure, to permit and suffer them herein without any your letts, hinderance or molestacyon, any act, statute proclamation or commandment heretofore made or hereafter to be made to the contrary notwithstanding Provided that the same... be allowed by our Master of our Revels, and that they be not published or shewen in the time of common prayer or in the tyme of great and common plague in our said citye of London». Nothing could have been more exasperating to the Corporation of London, than this permission to contravene their mandates, and they continued in determined opposition. On 22nd July 1574 the Privy council granted a license to Players to go to London and to be favourably used there, and a letter was written to the Lord Mayor to that effect (Privy Council Register).

The Lansdowne M S. IX. (10) contains a copy of the act of Common Council for regulating and restraining Stage-plays in London, especially at Inns and Taverns in the mayoralty of Sir James Hawes, Dec. 6th 1574. Many byelaws were enacted (See also Strype's ed. Stow's History, Vol. I. p.p. 299 and 300). In the same M S. (12), also in Lansd. M S. XX, is a petition of her « Majesties Poor Players » to the Lords of her Majesties Privy Council, asking them that they

should write to the Lord Mayor of London and to the Justices of Middlesex, that they may be permitted to act, as had been previously permitted. This granted, they would not « continually trouble your Lordships ».

(11) The corporation retorted that the players did not stick to their orders, that, though they did not play in service time, they received the people in waiting during that time, and made other complaints.

There are many entries among the Records of the City, of action taken against players, but most of them have been published.

The Court plays went on all the same that Christmas. In 1575, however, the Common Councilmen passed an edict, referring to « the disorders and inconveniences by performance of plays, determining that, on pain of fine and imprisonment no play was to be performed not appointed by the Mayor and Aldermen, with a new licence for each exhibition, and half the money taken to bo given to charitable purposes. The alderman wrote to the Privy Council to justify their orders « To play in plague time is to increase the plague by infection, to play out of plague time is to offend God by such plays » (Lansd. M S. IX. I3).

Again the Players petitioned and again the Privy Council remonstrated, and doubtless, Leicester felt some malicious satisfaction in carrying the Queen away to « the Princely Pleasures of Kenilworth », where the London Corporation had no power. Other noblemen hastened to take out Patents for their servants. On Dec. 6th 1575, the Corporation expelled players from the city, and they settled in the Liberties, 1576.

The battle however continued during the following year, while the Theatre and the Curtain were rising in Finsbury Fields. The rehearsals in Chapels (1) were apparently allowed to be improper ; and on Dec. 24th, 1578, the Privy Council wrote to the Lord Mayor telling him that « the Children of her Majesty's Chapel, the Lord Chamberlain's men, the Earl of Essex men, are to be allowed to play within the City, because they are appointed to play at Christmas before the Queen ».

It is said that « there were eight ordinary playing places in London then, for playing publicly, to the great impoverishment of the people ». An attack was next made on the buildings, and an order to pull down all the playhouses within the city, passed the Common Council in 1580. Some escaped, and the yards of Inns were still occasionally used for the purpose, but the main productions appeared in Finsbury or in Southwark.

On 25th May 1582 The Privy Council requested the Lord Mayor to allow plays at convenient times. « The Remembrancia of the City of London » preserves the decisions about Plays and Players.

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(1) Yet the « Third Blast of retrait from Plays and Players 1580 » says that « players are permitted to publish their mammetrie in every temple of God, and that throughout England ».

The City-fathers had in their action the courage of their opinions, and opposed an amusement of which they disapproved, but which they knew to be highly favoured by the Queen and fostered by her in a way which made it survive. When they were foiled in one direction, they tried another ; and their outcry as to the immorality of the plays and the players and their bad effect on the public character, had at last a measure of success. Through all the struggles, they acted as a refining influence, which took shape in 1589, in the Royal Commission appointed to see that the stage was to be purged of immorality (1), if it were to be allowed to exist. Thus it was being prepared for Shakespeare's coming and his work of raising the moral tone, as well as the intellectual standard of the dramatic art.

In November 1589 the Lord Mayor, John Hart, ordered some players not to play. They did so in spite of him and he sent them to the Compter, but had to explain to the Court (Lansdowne M S. 60 [19]).

On 25th July 1591. The Privy Council directed that plays should not be performed on Sundays or Thursdays, *because they hurt the game of Bearbaiting*, and such like games that are maintained for her Majesty's pleasure.

On 25th Feb. 1592, The Aldermen wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury asking him to restrain plays.

On 6th March 1592, they thanked him for restraining plays along with Mr Tilney.

On Feb. 3rd 1593, Plays were restrained for the Plague.

On 8th Oct. 1594. Letter from Lord Hunsdon to Lord Mayor requesting permission for the new Company of Players to be permitted to perform at the Crosskeys in Gracechurch Street, now that the sickness hath departed from the city.

3rd Nov. 1594, Lord Mayor to Earl Warwick, that Francis Langley (2) intended to erect a new Theatre on the Bankside and praying him to prevent it. Lord Mayor to Council to issue letters to justices of Surrey and Middlesex to suppress Stage plays on Bankside, as they increased crime in the city.

13th Sep. 1595. The Lord Mayor to Council recommending the Suppression of Stage plays as well at The Theatre, the Curtain, Bankside and all other places. 28th July 1597.

23rd July 1596. The Privy Council restrained players for fear of the plague.

May 1597, Plays forbidden to be played in Hadley, Suffolk at Whitsontide.

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(1) 12th November 1589. The Council wrote to the Master of the Revels, to join with the others, and to tell the Companies of players that they must have their plays read and approved, and that « everything unfitte or undecent » should be struck out, on the penalty of never being allowed to play again.

(2) He did succeed in building the great *Swan Theatre* on the Bankside, at least some time before 1597, when he had a lawsuit with the Lord Admiral's company, who had left him, to go and play with Henslowe at *The Rose*.

28th July 1597, Privy Council noted the great disorders in common play-houses. Players mut not play in summer for fear of the Plague. The Curtain and the Theatre must be plucked down or dismantled so as not to be fit to be used again.

19th Feb. 1597-8 None to be allowed to play but servants of the Lord Admiral and the Lord Chamberlain.

A re-enactment of The Statute of 39 Elizabeth (1597-8) against Rogues Vagabonds and Sturdy Beggars, including Palmists, Fortune-Tellers, Bearwards, Common Players of Interludes, not belonging to any Baron of the Realm, after the death of Hunnis, further limited and controlled the unlicenced rivals of Shakespeare.

1598-9 The materials of the Theatre removed to build the Globe on Bankside.

The Burgesses of London were not without authors to support them by arguments.

In 1574 « A form of Christian Policy « translated from the French by Geoffrey Fenton, Chap. 7th says « that minstrels are unworthy the fellowship of townsmen; that puppet players are equally unworthy, that players were cast out of the Church, and that all dissolute plays ought to be forbidden », yet he allows that « comical and tragical shews of scholars in moral doctrine may be profitable. »

John Northbrook's Book « against Dicing, Dancing, Vaine Playes or Enterludes » was entered in Stationer's Registers, 2nd Dec. 1577, and published shortly after. This was written just after the building of the Theatre and the Curtain, which he mentions by name.

A sermon preached at Paul's Cross, 3rd Nov. 1577 by T. W., printed 1578, refers to « The sumptuous Theatre houses, a constant monument of London's prodigality and folly ».

There were constant strictures from the pulpit, but perhaps, the best known is the sermon at St. Paul's Cross, by Stockwood, Master of the Free Grammar School at Tunbridge Wells (founded by the London Skinner's company,) 1578. Though chiefly objecting to the performance of plays on Sunday, he also noted the evil example and the extravagance of the gorgeous Playing place erected in the fields and termed « a Theatre » after the manner of the ancients.

Stephen Gosson, a University man of Oxford, was originally a player, and wrote plays, but becoming convinced of their evil, became a tutor and a preacher, and prepared his invective against them, called « The School of Abuse » 1579. This he dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney, without asking leave ; of which we hear in Edmund Spenser's Letter to Gabriel Harvey 16th Oct. 1579. « Newe bookes I hear of none, but only of one, that, writing a certain book called the Schoole of Abuse, and dedicating it to Master Sidney was for his labour scorned ; if at least it be in the goodnesse of that nature to scorne. Such follie is it not to regarde aforehande the inclination and qualitie of him, to whom we dedicate oure Bookes ». Gosson was then in the country, writing his « Ephemerides » 1580, to which he added an Apology for the « School of Abuse » ; and not having heard of Sydney's feeling, he again dedicated this little book to him. He returned to the charge

in 1582, in « Plays confuted in Five Actions », and dedicated this to Sir Francis Walsingham. He is more against the performance than the writing of plays. « If plaiers take a little more counsel of their pillowe, they shall finde themselves to be the worste, and the daungerousest people in the world (1) ». « Strange News out of Affrick » answered this attack, but it has been lost.

The Anatomie of Abuses by Philip Stubbes, 1st May 1583 was dedicated to Rt. Hon. Philip, Earl of Arundel.

In the Preface to the Reader, he says he would not have men think he utterly disliked all Plays and Interludes, which are very ancient, and sometimes a commendable exercise in Christian Commonwealths, where they contain matter for good example and wholesome instruction.

He goes through the various abuses and vices he sees prevalent in the community, then he treats Stage Plays, which, he said, « were invented by the Devil, practised by the Heathen Gentiles, and dedicat to their false gods ». The matter of both tragedy and comedy is sin. They are worse when played on the Sabbath ; or when they are founded on Scriptures. « Theatres and Curtains are Venus Pallaces. I beseech all Players and founders of plaies and enterludes, to leave off that cursed kind of life, and giue themselues to honest exercises ».

« A Mirror of Monsters » by W. Rankins 1587, inveighs against the stage. Dr. Rainolds held the vanity and unlawfulness of Plays and Interludes, against Doctor Gager, the celebrated dramatist, 1592. And in the same year, Nash, in his « Pierce Pennilesse' supplication to the Devil » says : « Our players are not as the players beyond the sea... our scene is more stately furnisht than ever it was in the time of Roscius, our representations honorable, full of gallant resolution... of emperors, kings, and princes, whose true tragedies they doo vaunt ».

More concerning these matters may be found in the lately published Fourth Volume of Harrison's Shakespeare's England, edited by Dr Furnivall.

NOTE TO CHAP. XXI. I. p. 270.

The Interlude of Jacob and Esau.

This Interlude was « licenced to Henry Sutton, 1557 to printe an enterlude upon the History of Jacob and Esau out of the 27th Chapter of the Firste booke of Moyses called Genesis and for his licence he geveth to the house 4d ». If printed then, there has been no copy preserved. The only edition extant is that of 1568, reprinted in Hazlitt's Edition of Dodsley's Old Plays.

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(1) Stat. Reg. « 18th Oct. 1580. Lycenced unto Henrie Denham under the Wardens handes a seconde and a thirde blaste of Retrait from playes and Theaters vid » ; « 10th November 1580. Allowed a Ringing retraite couragiouslie sounded wherein Plaies and Players are fytly confounded. to Edward White 4d ».

I here follow the copy in the British Museum (King's 299).

« A newe mery and wittie Comedie or Enterlude newely imprinted, treating upon the historie of Jacob and Esau, out of the xxvii Chap. of the first booke of Moses, entituled Genesis ».

« The partes and names of the Players, who are to be considered to be Hebrews, and so should be apparailled with attire.

1. The Prologue, a Poete.
2. Isaac, an old man, father to Jacob and Esau.
3. Rebecca, en old woman, Wife to Isaac.
4. Esau, a yong man, and a hunter.
5. Jacob, a yong man, of godly conversation.
6. Zithar, a neighbour.
7. Hanan, a neighbour to Isaac also.
8. Ragan, a servaunt unto Esau.
9. Mido, a little boy, leading Isaac.
10. Debora, the nurse of Isaac's tente.
11. Abra, a little wench, servant to Rebecca.

Imprinted at London by Henrie Bynneman,
dwelling in Knightrider Streate at the signe of the Mermayde.
Anno Domine 1568.

Three very poor verses by way of Prologue are recited by the poet, and then the Interlude begins with Act and Scenes. Ragan, the servant of Esau, is the comic character, though there are several humourous passages between Mido and Abra.

« Actus primus, scaena prima. » begins by a soliloquy of Ragan's, who explains how Esau insists on getting up too early in the morning to go hunting, disturbing all his neighbours by his hounds and halloos, and making his servant's life miserable. In the second scene the neighbours discuss Esau's disturbances, and moralise on the advantages of a good education. After a conversation between Rebecca and Jacob, Isaac comes in, blind, led by Mido, and Rebecca blames Esau, and praises Jacob, in which praise Mido joins :

Mido Nor do I love your sonne Esau so well
As I do love your sonne Jacob, by a greate deale.
Isaac Dost thou Mido ? And tell me the cause why ?
Mido Why ? For I do not ! And none other cause know I,
But everybody, as well one as other
Doe wish that Jacob had bene the elder brother ».

Act second shews us how hungry Ragan became in the wilderness, while Esau was hunting, a hunger which Esau shared. They come upon Jacob eating a mess of potage, Esau strikes a bargain.

There is not enough for two, so he does not share it with Ragan, who grumbles to himself, saying aside

« I would fast and fare ill, ere I ate of that price,
Woulde I sell my birthright, being an eldest sonne ?
Forsooth then were it a faire threede I had sponne ».

Mido rushes out of the tent, laughing at Esau's greediness and sympathises with Ragan. Esau however reproaches him for being greedy, and in excuse for having sold his birthright for a meal, explains that he does not intend to keep the bargain.

The next scene shews Rebecca's joy at her son Jacob's success,

« Sonne Jacob, forasmuch as thou hast so well sped,
With an himme or a psalme let the Lord be praised,
Sing we all together, and give thanks to the Lord
Whose promise and performance doe well accord ».

Act third gives the conversation between Isaac and his son Esau, after which Ragan is again carried off hunting by his master.

Act Fourth shews Rebecca and Jacob consulting how to circumvent Esau,and Jacob and Mido go out to the flocks,while Rebecca and Abra prepare for their return.

Scene Fourth presents a charming picture. Abra is in the tent busy. She sings the second song, and as she sings let her sweepe with a broome.

« It hath been a proverbe before I was borne,
Yong doth it prick that will be a thorne,
Who will be evil or who will be good
Who geven to truth and who to falsehood,
Each bodies youth sheweth a great likelihood,
For yong doth it pricke that will be a thorne ».

When Abra finishes her sweeping she says :

Abra. I must to the gardene as fast as I can trotte,
As I was commaunded, to fet hearbes for the potte,
But in the meantime, I praye you Nurse, looke aboute
And see well to the fire, that it goe not out.
I will awmble so fast that I will soone be there
And here againe I trow, ere an horse can licke his eare.
Debora alone There is not a pretier gyrle within this mile
Than this Abra will be within a little while,
As true as any stele, ye may trust her with gold
Though it were a bushell and not a peny tolde ;
As quicke about her work that must be quickly sped » etc.

Abra comes back in the next scene :

« I have brought here goode herbes and of them plenty
To make both broth and farcing, and that full deinty...

Here is time and percelie, spinache and rosemarye,
Endive, suckorie, lacteux, violette, clary,
Liverworte, marigolde, sorell, hartstong, and sage,
Peniryal, purslane, buglosse, and borage,
With many very good herbes mo than I do name ».

After his feast Isaac blesses Jacob, and the other three rejoice.

Act Fifth brings back Esau from his hunting, bearing fine venison, and he plans a despotic sway when he comes into possession. His wrath at the deception is uncontrollable...

« Ah Hypocrite, Ah Hedge-creeper, Ah sembling wretche,
I will be even with him for this subtill fetche...
I may fortune one day him to dispatche and ridde
The Lord will not see all thinges, some thing may be hid » !

Rebecca persuades him to promise to forgive Jacob. Then follow Prayers for the Clergie, for the Queenes Maiestie, for the Counsaillors for the Nobilitie, and for the Subjects.

All the characteristics of this interesting early drama fit into the known work of William Hunnis, the Queen's Gardener, the friend of Thomas Newton, and the successor of Richard Edwards.

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§ signifies any connected with the plots in Mary's reign.
† » the singers and players in Royal Chapels or in Churches.
Dr. » dramatist.
Pl. » player.
P. » Poet.
Gr. » Freeman of the Grocer's company.
pr. » Printer.

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ERRATA LEFT UNCORRECTED.

Page 112, line 3 from foot, read *Nicholas* Brigham.
» 158, second line from foot of text read *Ambassador*.
» 158, in the third line of notes, read *Deeds*.
» 178, line 2 from foot, notes read *Worthies*.
» 195, line 7 read Posie made *of* three.
» 220 line 4 read *dated 11th March 36 Hen. VIII, 1544-5* see page 310 note 1.
» 223 line 16 read *It* for *Its*.
» 231 4th line from foot, note, read *as*. 3rd line from foot read 4d.
» 240 line 23 read *Swimming*.
» 253 note 1, read *1561*, see pages 146, and 222.
» 279 line 8th from foot read *Edward IV* for « Richard III ».
» 282 line 6, read *1556*, and second line from foot, note *1556*.
» 283 line 13, read *Amy* for « Anne ».
» 297 3rd line from foot delete I.
» 311, line 13 read 1559 for 1599.
» 329 last line read *Henslowe*.
» 332 line 18, read *Knightrider*.

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